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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANALYTIC GENITIVE IN GERMANIC. II

We turn now to the study of the origin of the analytic objective genitive. The theories of the origin of the older synthetic objective genitive have been given above. The analytic form has sprung up within historic times and its entire development lies clearly before us. It is of composite origin, originating in the ideas of source and reference. The oldest example known to the writer is from the ninth century from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 244: "Ond he purh þæt ge his peode ge eac pam cynnum Scotta and Peohta . . . mid arfæstnesse his sylena of pam goodum pe he from ricum monnum onfeng swipe bricsade," "And he thereby greatly benefited his people as well as the nations of the Scots and Picts by his piety in giving away the property which he received from the rich." A careful study of this passage will reveal the idea of source here. At first the partitive idea suggests itself. Mr. Thomas Miller's translation of this passage which has been here appended to the original certainly conveys the impression that he does not feel the conception as of a partitive nature. The literal rendering brings out the force of the original: "by the piety of his gifts of [i.e., from] the goods which he had received from the rich." He made many gifts, drawing each time from the stores that the rich had given him. Closely related to the idea of source is the conception of composition: "ða giue of ðe hali gaste" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 21), "the gift of [i.e., consisting of] the Holy Ghost."

There is a second idea in this category—the idea of reference: “and wæs gemersad mersong of him in all stoue ðaes londes” (Luke 4:37, Lindisfarne MS), “and the fame of [i.e., with reference to, about] him went out into every place of the country round about.” The Corpus Version has the older synthetic form: “ða wæs his hlisa gewidmærsod,” etc. The Lindisfarne version follows the Latin model: “et diuulgabatur fama de illo,” etc. The Latin itself is a development of the older synthetic genitive: “fama *sui frui*” (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 13), “to enjoy what they said about him.” We find also the synthetic form in the Lindisfarne MS, both in the English and in the Latin: “in ðæm tid geherde [herodes] mersung *hælendes*” (Matt. 14:1), “in illo tempore audiit herodes famam iesu.” The Lindisfarne glossarist in every case simply followed the Latin. Both forms existed in both languages. Also in other expressions this glossarist followed the Latin original: “ne is ðe gemeniso of oðrum ne forðon eft-sces aweðu wlit monna” (Matt. 22:16,) “non est tibi cura *de aliquo* non enim respicis personam hominum,” “nor is there in thee fear *of others*, for thou does not regard the person of men.” A few such examples are the only ones that the writer has been able to find. They are all confined to the Lindisfarne MS. They all follow the Latin closely and yet the writer has absolute confidence in the idiomatic quality of the English. The different Germanic peoples were developing a desire for a clearer expression of the idea of reference than that furnished them by the old colorless synthetic genitive. To show this widespread tendency we give in different languages the text of Luke 4:37, the English of which has just been given from the Lindisfarne MS: “jah usiddja meripa *from imma*” (Wulfila), “liumunt uzgieng thurah alle thi lantscaf *fan imo*” (Tatian 17:8), “och ryktet *om* honom gick ut” (modern Swedish). This tendency was also strong in Latin and Greek, but these languages are scarcely the source of the Germanic development. The inadequacy of the old synthetic genitive was obviously the common cause.

Now the question arises: Are the two little Old English groups of objective genitives mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs—the one containing the idea of source, the other the idea of reference—strong enough to have been able to establish the new analytic objec-

tive genitive as we have it today with its broad boundaries? Even though they were both more strongly represented in dialect than in the literary language, it does not seem probable that they could have been the real nucleus of this category. Formal elements played a bigger rôle. The position of the objective genitive before the noun was often quite ambiguous. It could often not be distinguished from the subjective genitive. Gradually it became common to place the objective genitive after the noun: "mid lufan pæs uplecan rices" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 298), "[he was inspired] with the love of the heavenly kingdom." It would seem that this simple differentiation would find an immediate recognition, but in spite of the evident need of a consistent uniform differentiation, the old synthetic genitive remained in a large number of cases quite firmly attached to the place before the noun. Perhaps a deep-seated feeling associated it often still with the possessive genitive from which it in part developed. In 1200 A.D. we still find the verb before the noun even where it requires a close study of the connection to distinguish it from the subjective genitive: "Karitas, pat is, godes luue and mannes" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 35), "charity, that is, the love of God and man." Alongside the old form we often find the new analytic form in this same book: "for ðe luue of gode" (*ibid.*, p. 21). Where did the "of" come from? Is it the genitive of reference mentioned above? If this view were true we should expect to find here in modern Swedish *om* instead of "of." The Swede in most cases uses here *af*, the form which he employs to express the partitive idea, and the idea of material or composition. The frequent use of *af* instead of the old partitive synthetic genitive and the genitive of material gave to this form the force of a genitive and hence it is used in other genitive categories instead of the old synthetic form. The situation is not as clear in English, for we should use "of" for the idea of reference, and the analytic objective genitive may have developed out of this common meaning. It seems, however, fairly certain that "of," which was in the Old English period freely used instead of a synthetic partitive genitive and was also employed instead of the synthetic form in the categories of material, composition, origin, source, and possession, was quite deeply felt as a new genitive form capable of taking the place of the old synthetic form at any place where the

old form was unclear or lacked a distinctive ending. In this last example from *Vices and Virtues* "of" took the place of the old synthetic form which in the position after the noun had been entirely abandoned on account of its lack of distinctive endings. If the synthetic genitive *godes* had been used here it would have been identical in form with the plural genitive, hence the synthetic form was naturally avoided. Even where the synthetic genitive would be perfectly clear it was not used after the middle of the twelfth century in the position *after* the governing noun. The writer has not been able to find anywhere in this period the form "for pe luue Christes," although "for Cristes luue" with the same meaning is common. The synthetic genitive after the noun would in this expression be perfectly clear, and it does not violate the law of immediate contact described above. The reason for its rejection, however, is evident. The synthetic genitive was so often rejected in the position after the noun because it was ambiguous or violated the law of immediate contact that it was in general avoided in this position and disappeared here absolutely.

Thus at this time there were two objective genitives, the synthetic form *before* the noun and the analytic *after* it. Modern Swedish still preserves this older order of things: "krutets uppfinning," or "uppfinning af krutet," "the invention of gun-powder." After 1200 A.D. the English synthetic genitive in the position before the noun gradually became less common here. It is still the rule with personal pronouns, as illustrated and explained above under the possessive genitive, but with nouns it is now very little used. A few examples of this limited use with nouns are given below under the subjective genitive. The meaning of English "of" had a force better adapted to wide use in the objective category than Swedish *af*. In English "of" and Swedish *af* lie the meanings *source* and *composition*, but in English "of" there was also the very common idea of *reference*. This wide range of graphic meanings suitable to use in the objective category often led to the use of "of." Thus in "his gift *of service and money*" the words in italics are not only mere grammatical objective genitives, but also beautiful concrete pictures—"a gift consisting of service and money." The "of" was especially suitable for the expression of the very common idea of reference:

"His account of his travels," "a full report of the debate," "hope of promotion," "dreams of glory," etc. Thus the usage of employing "of" for the expression of the ideas of source, composition, and reference, which had already in Old English begun to develop, has been one of the factors that have gradually brought about the victory of the analytic over the synthetic form in the objective category. Otherwise the situation today would be more as it is in Swedish. The old synthetic form in the position before the noun would still be largely used.

The question arises whether the French *de* has in any way affected the English development here. The closest study does not show the slightest influence at any point. The use of the analytic form at the beginning of the Middle English period was merely a matter of word-order. The synthetic genitive before the noun was preserved, while the analytic genitive entirely supplanted the synthetic form after the noun on account of the defective inflection of the synthetic genitive. Swedish with a much fuller synthetic inflection shows the same development. English differs only in that the analytic form has gained a more complete victory. This resulted from two causes—the growing tendency to differentiate the objective from the subjective genitive by the word-order and the growing fondness for the expressive meaning of "of." The first of these tendencies is very old and gradually and uninterruptedly increased in force. This tendency alone amply explains the development of the analytic form. It also has been an important factor in the Swedish development. In Swedish, however, it never became so strong, for the whole development in Swedish shows that the strongest tendency was to reduce all shades of adnominal relations outside of the partitive category and closely allied groups to the possessive idea out of which they may once have all come. This tendency brought all genitives as far as possible into the place before the noun and thus preserved to a remarkable extent the synthetic form. Alongside the English tendency to use the analytic form for the purpose of differentiating it from the subjective genitive was the pronounced fondness for the clear and forcible meaning of "of," which thus helped to establish the analytic form.

The German, in general, remained true to the old synthetic

genitive. Originally it stood before the governing noun and had the sentence accent. This older order of things is preserved in many compounds: *Göttesfurcht*, *Ménschenhass*, *Ménschenliebe*, etc. As in English, the objective genitive gradually became fixed in the position after the noun: "die Erziehung der Kinder," etc. The old synthetic form is replaced by the analytic form only in case of articleless abstract nouns denoting material when used in a *partitive* sense or articleless plurals of concrete nouns when the reference is to an *indefinite* number: "Menschenbedürfnis konnte zumeist ohne viel Bitten auf ein Vorsetzen *von* Speise und Trank rechnen"; "Auch die Japaner sind lebhaft mit dem Aufwerfen *von* Verschanzungen beschäftigt." The use of the definite article of the synthetic genitive would make the reference too definite.

At one point the English and German have developed very differently. The objective genitive after verbal derivatives in English *-ing* can be replaced by an accusative object: "He listened without once interrupting *me*." The genitive can also be used: "the building *of the bridge*." In Old English, of course, the synthetic genitive was used. In German it is still the usual form: "die Plünderung *der Stadt*." English differs from German in that the verbal force in the derivative noun is often felt so vividly that it requires the usual verbal construction, i.e., an accusative instead of a genitive object. The development as it is found in modern English is one of the most terse and flexible constructions known in any language. One who is accustomed to using it finds a language like German with its highly developed hypotaxis very poky and clumsy. A few examples will illustrate the difference of construction: "I left the room without his seeing me," "Ich verliess das Zimmer, ohne dass er mich gesehen hätte"; "After saying this he went away," "Nachdem er dies gesagt hatte, ging er fort." The history of the English gerund has been given in an independent article.¹

The German has a difficulty in the objective category unknown to English. The objective genitive usually corresponds only to the accusative with verbs and hence is avoided with nouns derived from verbs which govern a genitive or dative: "Er zürnt *mir*," but "sein Zorn *auf mich*"; "Sie widerstanden den Römern," but

¹ *Englische Studien*, XLV (1912), 349-80.

"Der Widerstand *gegen die Römer*." The use of a preposition with its dependent noun is in many cases here well established, but in many other cases is not in use at all, and under the pressure of dire necessity good writers are sometimes forced to employ the objective genitive here in spite of the stern injunction of grammarians: "Diesen [i.e., "den gewohnheitsmässigen Spielern"] Unterkunft zur Fröhnung ihres Lasters zu gewähren" (leader in *Hamburger Nachrichten*, June 27, 1905). The writer has an interesting collection of such flagrant violations of grammatical convention and has often searched for the underlying principles upon which this convention rests. He has grown gray in the study of German grammar and yet he has not educated himself up to the point where he feels that this usage is bad grammar. Over against his, a foreigner's feeling, is the feeling of a great native German scholar whom he profoundly admires, and whom, from now on, he will sadly miss: "die *Huldigung des Fürsten, zur Abhilfe dieses Misstandes, zum Gedächtnis der Tat klingen leicht hart*" (Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III, 601). As quoted above Professor Wilmanns himself has explained that the objective genitive is a genitive of reference or specification. If this be true these genitives are perfectly in place. In a number of cases the genitive may contain the possessive idea. A deep-seated feeling for these meanings of the genitive has led many distinguished German writers to use it here. We find in older English this same objective genitive: "gefyllede wilsumnesse and ðære ðenunge þas eadigan martyres" (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 38), "the devotion and the serving of the holy martyr having been completed." The genitive *martyres* is dependent upon *ðenunge* which is derived from *denian*, a verb governing the dative. Old English authors did not regard this genitive as ungrammatical.

The development of the German and English objective genitive has been presented only in its simplest outlines. It is a very important category and has in both languages developed many peculiar forms. The full treatment of these peculiarities would become of itself a good-sized treatise. The writer hopes to present his materials upon some other occasion.

We turn from the objective to the subjective genitive, which stands in strong contrast to it. It is the only genitive category which

did not in Old English develop the analytic form. The reason is quite evident. The old synthetic form is still, even today, strongly intrenched in the subjective category. Of course, it was as firmly intrenched in Old English: "heora Scyppendes tocyme" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies of Ælfric*, p. 27), "the coming of their creator"; "ures Hælendes prouunge" (*ibid.*, p. 34), "our Lord's suffering"; "purh Cristes lare" (*ibid.*, p. 35), "through Christ's teaching"; "purh Godes fultum" (*ibid.*, p. 37), "by God's help," and countless other examples. On the one hand, this genitive is closely related to the possessive genitive which preferred the position before the governing noun. On the other hand, there was already at this time a tendency to differentiate the possessive genitive by placing it before the noun and putting the subjective genitive after it. In spite of the close relation of the subjective genitive to the possessive category, the tendency to differentiate them had become strong in Ælfric's day: "for peowracan sweartra deofla" (*ibid.*, p. 69), "on account of the threats of black demons," and many other examples. Thus in Ælfric's time the situation was much as it is today—the subjective genitive may either precede or follow the noun. Of course, after the loss of the declensions the synthetic genitive that followed the noun was replaced by the analytic: "chiueringe of *toden*" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 18), "the gnashing of teeth"; "ðese hali lare of *ðe hali gast*" (*ibid.*, p. 61), "this holy admonition of the Holy Ghost." The oldest examples of the analytic form here known to the writer belong to the twelfth century. It seems quite probable that the analytic form in the second example might even have been used before the loss of the inflections, for the idea of source is here so prominent that it might have suggested the use of "of" long before the lack of inflectional endings made it necessary. The writer has, however, found no examples of such usage. In general, the synthetic form here resulted from the loss of inflection.

Although, in general, the position of the genitive is much the same in this category today as it was in Ælfric's day, there is in our time a much sharper differentiation between the subjective and the objective genitive. The synthetic subjective genitive precedes the noun and the analytic objective form follows it: "the teacher's praise of the pupil." The two analytic forms may follow the noun

if different prepositions be used: "the capture of *the city* [object] by the Japanese" [subject]; "the admonition of *the father* [subject] to his son" [object]; "the contempt of *the Japanese* [subject] for death" [object]. The differentiation that places the synthetic subjective genitive before the noun and the analytic objective form after it, though in general well established, has not yet gained a complete victory. The older order of things that permitted a synthetic objective genitive to stand before the noun is still found: "*his* defeat," "*their* banishment from the city," "*her* punishment," "*the boy's* punishment," "*the child's* education"; sometimes even in the case of the name of a thing: "*the city's* capture by the Japanese," etc.

We turn now to the genitive of characteristic. In oldest Germanic the synthetic genitive is the form used to give the characteristic or distinguishing quality of a person or thing. The beginnings of the analytic form go back to oldest Germanic, but it was employed at first only in more external characterization to distinguish one individual from another by naming the town or country from which he came: "Wasuh pan sums siuks, Lazarus of Bepanias" (Wulfila, John 11:1), "Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus of Bethany." In the ninth century the analytic genitive is extended in both England and Germany to designations of origin with regard to race and class. It is used in both the adnominal and the predicate relation: "wæs þær sum munuc of Scotta cynne" (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 302), "There was a monk of Scottish race"; "pæt he ne wæs of þearfendum folce" (*ibid.*, p. 328), "that he was not of the poor class." This usage was already common at this time, especially in England, as attested by the many examples the writer has collected. The impelling force was not defective declensions, but the desire for a clearer and more vivid expression for this idea than was then afforded by the old colorless synthetic genitive. Characterization in all these examples came from the idea of source. In many other cases the characterization came from the broad idea of possession: "Min rice nys of ðyson middan-earde" (Corpus, John 18:36), "my kingdom is not of this world"; i.e., "my kingdom does not belong to this earth." This form of characterization is also old, as can be seen from the Gothic version of this same passage: "piudangardi meina nist us pamma fairhwau." Possession is here found

in the new sense, the idea of an integral part as discussed above. This new development also took place in German and Swedish: "Mein Reich ist nicht *von* dieser Welt"; "Mitt rike är icke *af* denna världen."

Although the new form was clearly established in Old English, the older possessive idea as expressed by the old synthetic genitive still continued to flourish. There is, however, one important change to be noted—the gradual shifting of the genitive from the position *before* the noun to the place *after* it: "in weorcum ælmesdæda" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 374), "for works of charity"; "boc ongrysliere gesilhœ and unmættrre micelnisse" (*ibid.*, p. 438), "a book of dreadful appearance and monstrous size"; "swyle leoht engelices ondwltan" (*ibid.*, p. 362), "such a light of angelic appearance." After the loss of the declensions the synthetic form here was uniformly replaced by the analytic. This new form with "of" cannot be distinguished from the older group that in Old English took "of" for the sake of its forcible meaning. Thus in the following examples from 1200 A.D. we cannot distinguish from which group the "of" came: "menn of ðe world" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 7), "se ðe is of harde hierta" (*ibid.*, p. 61), etc.

Alongside the Old English word-order with the synthetic genitive of characteristic *after* the governing noun the older order with the synthetic genitive *before* the noun remained common throughout the Old English period: "se Godes wer" (Bede, p. 394), "this man of God"; "micelre geeurnunge mæssepreost" (*ibid.*, p. 414), "a priest of high merit," etc. The conception of possession was originally the controlling idea here, but the conception of characterization easily developed out of it. Like the possessive genitive the genitive of characterization often preferred the place before the noun. This position was at first natural because the genitive in general preferred the position before the noun. It was later in the Old English period natural because descriptive adjectives had become firmly fixed in the position before the noun, and hence the genitive of the characteristic with its strong descriptive force often remained in this position instead of joining the general movement of the other genitives to a place after the noun. It has become so firmly fixed in this place that it is still often found there in spite of the fact that this position has largely

become restricted to the possessive genitive. We usually differentiate this synthetic genitive characteristic from the possessive genitive by stronger stress: "In our street lives a millionaire. This millionaire's [unstressed poss. gen.] two sons are quite sensible young fellows," but "This young chap wants us to feel that he is a *millionaire's* [stressed gen. of characteristic] son"; "California is *God's* [stressed gen. of characteristic] own country." Stress and lively tone still make this old form serviceable in spoken speech. In the written language the analytic form would in most cases be used. The old synthetic genitive is, however, still quite common in both written and spoken language where the characterization is in the form of a measurement or a definite designation of time: "a boat's length," "an hour's ride," "without a moment's thought," "yesterday's newspaper," etc. The synthetic form is in most cases more common here than the analytic, as the idea of characterization is not prominent, but where the conception of characterization enters into the thought the analytic form becomes more natural: "In such an important matter the thought of a *moment* is not sufficiently mature." We say: "today's newspapers," but "the political ideals of *today* are quite different from those of *yesterday*."

We have an interesting misunderstood survival of the old synthetic genitive of characteristic in "all kinds" as in "all kinds of men." In *Vices and Virtues* we find "alles kennes metes," "meats of every kind." Here "alles kennes" is a genitive of characteristic. We also find the genitive plural instead of the singular: "fuwer kinne teares" (*Old English Homilies*, I, 151), "tears of four kinds." The following noun was later construed as a genitive, which led to "all kinds or kind [originally gen. plural, later felt as an indeclinable collective noun] of meats," etc. The collective use of "kind" is still found in Shakespeare: "These kind of knaves" (*Lear*, II, ii, 107). We hear "kind of" used today as an adverb: "I feel kind of sick."

The older genitive of characteristic, as in "a *four hours'* ride," has today a strong rival in a younger adjective construction, as in "a *four-hour* ride." The younger construction is now much more widely used, often where the genitive is not employed at all: "a *five-pound* perch," "a *two-mile* ride," "a *two-inch* board," "a *two-gallon* bucket," "an *up-to-date* machine," etc. The genitive can

be used only for measurements and designations of time and even there only to a limited extent. We say: "an *eight hours'* trip," but "an eight-hour working-day"; "a *two days'* ride," but "an all-day ride"; "today's paper," but "the *Sunday* edition"; "a boat's length," but "a *twelve-foot* plank"; etc. The origin of such adjective elements is the Old English compound. Originally the accent was upon the first syllable, as in "chúrchyard" ("gráveyard"). The accent of "chúrchyard" is still in harmony with the Old English law that stressed the first word in a group of words which modified a noun. Later at the close of the Old English period the sentence accent shifted to the last word in the group as in "the child's *father*." This new movement affected English compounds in part. The older accent remained wherever the parts of the compounds had thoroughly fused forming a distinct oneness of conception, as in "stóne-quarry," "stóne-oak" (*quercus Javensis*), "chúrchyard" ("gráveyard"), etc. Wherever the fusion was not so thorough the accent shifted upon the second element just as elsewhere in adnominal elements: "a stone hóuse," "the church yárd" (the yard belonging to the church), etc. The same thing sometimes took place also in German: "Nicht die Gartentür, sondern die Gartenmáuer ist beschädigt." The conditions, however, were markedly different in the two languages. The adjective lost its inflection in Middle English very early in the North and later also elsewhere. The first element of those compounds in which the parts had not fused thoroughly was felt as an adjective, for it had the descriptive force and the weak sentence stress of adjectives. The full adjective inflection in German kept the first element of the compound distinct from adjectives and thus the parts of the compound did not drift apart and the unity of the form was usually indicated by the accent upon the first element except where for logical reasons the second element was stressed as in the above example. The peculiar development in English made it possible to use almost any noun or even a group of words as an adjective. This construction has become very productive in English and is one of the marked advantages that it possesses.

The construction described in the preceding paragraph began to develop in late Old English and became clearly marked in the course of Middle English. The construction originated in adnominal

function. It was only natural that it should later be extended to use in the predicate: "The plank is not *the right length*"; "The boys were *the same size, the same age*"; "It's *no use*"; "The house was *a dark green*"; "What *price* is that article?" Such predicate elements can also stand *after* a noun as they are in fact there in the predicate with the verb understood: "a book *the same size* as this"; "water the *color of pea-soup*." Mr. Sweet in his *New English Grammar*, II, 49, explains such expressions by the omission of "of": "he is [of] the same age," etc. The writer does not feel this construction as slovenly English, but as the extension of the deeply rooted usage which allows any group of words to be used adjectively.

While in English the use of "of" in the genitive of characteristic is in part the result of a fondness for its original force, and in part the result of the decay of the declensions, the German use of *von* has resulted solely from the natural fondness of the people for its original force. The idea of characterization had become so thoroughly associated with *von* in its early use to distinguish a man by his *origin* as to birthplace, race, class, etc., or as *belonging* to some class, etc., that it became a well-understood sign for characterization in general. The fulness of inflectional forms enables the German here to employ the old synthetic form in the position after the noun, and usage still very often permits it, but the analytic form is, in general, more common. Where the synthetic form is employed, it now follows the governing noun. The original position before the noun, which is still preserved in English, is found in German only in compounds: *Teufelskerl*, *Teufelkind*, etc.

Modern Swedish, in harmony with its general tendency to place the synthetic form before the governing noun wherever it is possible, still preserves the older usage of placing the genitive of characteristic before the noun: "en ärans man," "a man of honor." The analytic form is also found: "en man of ära." The strong Swedish fondness for the synthetic form is easily seen by comparison with the German or English. The Swedish synthetic form must often be rendered by the analytic form in German and English: "en sjutton års yngling," "a youth of seventeen." In many expressions English cannot follow Swedish in the use of the genitive construction: "en fem markars aborre," "a five-pound perch." English very commonly uses the

synthetical genitive for measure and value, but cannot use it at all for weight.

The appositive genitive has a long and intricate history. The appositive is either in the same case as the governing noun, or is in the genitive. We take up the former construction first. Originally the word that was explained by an appositive in the same case was felt as the theme, the subject that was to be introduced for consideration. In all the older languages of our family the theme word preceded the appositive. As it was the important word it had the sentence stress, so that the following appositive was subordinate to it in accent. This older order of things is best studied in Old English where it is best preserved and where there are multitudes of examples. In the following illustrations italics represent sentence stress: "to *mailros ȝem mynstre*" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 424), "to the monastery of *Melrose*"; "bi *Temese streame*" (*ibid.*, p. 282), "by the river *Thames*"; "on *Hii pæt ealond*" (*ibid.*, p. 468), "to the island of *Iona*"; "wihte *ealond*" (*ibid.*, p. 302), "the Isle of *Wight*"; "in cirican *Colone* pære ceastrē bii Rine" (*ibid.*, p. 414), "in the church of the city of *Cologne* on the Rhine"; "*Osweo se cyning*" (*ibid.*, p. 234), "king *Oswio*"; "*Theodor* biscop" (*ibid.*, p. 274), "bishop *Theodore*"; "in *Augustus* monpe" (*ibid.*, p. 298), "in the month of *August*," etc. The appositive was sometimes the emphatic element and then according to older usage stood before the word it explained: "Wæs heo eac swylce æpele in woruldgebyrdum, pæt heo wæs pæs *cyninges* Eadwines neafan dohter" (*ibid.*, p. 332), "She was also nobly born in earthly origin as she was a daughter of a nephew of the *king*, Eadwine." The old order with the appositive after the governing noun is preserved in both English and German in a large number of set expressions, especially geographical terms: "die *Hudsonbai*," "Hudson Bay"; "der St. Gothardtunnel," "St. Gothard Tunnel," etc. Usage often differs in the two languages so that the German has the old form and the English the new: "der *Michigansee*," "Lake Michigan," etc. Many of these expressions that have the old form are modern formations, but they are fashioned after the analogy of older geographical terms.

Markedly different from this attributive appositive category is the common construction where the noun stands seemingly like an

appositive after its governing word, but is in fact a predicate affirming something of the preceding noun and as a predicate has sentence stress: "William the *Cónqueror*" (i.e., was a conqueror); "Frederick the *Gréat*" (not a mere title, but the general opinion of posterity); but "King *Fréderick*" ("King" is here a descriptive title, not a predication); "Frederick the *Sécond*" (not a mere title, but a precise statement of fact), but "Prince *Hénry*"; "Lykurg, der *Gesétzgeber Spártas*" (a predication), etc. With regard to word-order and stress this predicate construction has remained unchanged from the earliest times.

Although the old *appositive* form with the appositive after the governing noun was common in Old English, the situation had materially changed by the end of the period. The change here was closely connected with the general movements which affected the word-order of the attributive elements. In oldest English a descriptive adjective often stood after the governing noun. The governing noun was the theme word, the subject under consideration, and hence stood in the important first place. The adjective followed to present it in a fuller light. Already early in the Old English period the adjective showed a marked tendency to move to the position before the noun. Originally only the emphatic adjective stood before the noun. Old alliterative poetry usually shows clearly that the adjective before the noun was stressed, while the descriptive adjective after the noun was without sentence stress. When the descriptive adjective moved to the position before the noun it took its weak sentence stress with it, so that the two old sets of adjectives were still clearly discernible, the weak descriptive adjective with weak stress, and the emphatic adjective with strong stress: "my sick little *bróther*," but "my *little* brother, not my *big* one." The appositive, which also has the nature of a descriptive attributive element, naturally followed descriptive adjectives in their movement to the position before the noun and brought their weak sentence stress with them: "on pæs cyninges dagum *herodes*" (Corpus, Matt. 2:1), "In the days of *Herod* the king" (King James Version), "in diebus *herodis regis*." At a glance it can be seen that the author of the Corpus Version did not follow the Latin. His English order is more modern than that of the King James Version. The appositive stands before the noun it explains and is doubtless unstressed as it is

synthetical genitive for measure and value, but cannot use it at all for weight.

The appositive genitive has a long and intricate history. The appositive is either in the same case as the governing noun, or is in the genitive. We take up the former construction first. Originally the word that was explained by an appositive in the same case was felt as the theme, the subject that was to be introduced for consideration. In all the older languages of our family the theme word preceded the appositive. As it was the important word it had the sentence stress, so that the following appositive was subordinate to it in accent. This older order of things is best studied in Old English where it is best preserved and where there are multitudes of examples. In the following illustrations italics represent sentence stress: "to mailros ȝem mynstre" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 424), "to the monastery of Melrose"; "bi Temese streame" (*ibid.*, p. 282), "by the river Thames"; "on Hii pæt ealond" (*ibid.*, p. 468), "to the island of Iona"; "wihte ealond" (*ibid.*, p. 302), "the Isle of Wight"; "in cirican Colone pære ceastrē bii Rine" (*ibid.*, p. 414), "in the church of the city of Cologne on the Rhine"; "Osweo se cyning" (*ibid.*, p. 234), "king Oswo"; "Theodor biscop" (*ibid.*, p. 274), "bishop Theodore"; "in Augustus monþe" (*ibid.*, p. 298), "in the month of August," etc. The appositive was sometimes the emphatic element and then according to older usage stood before the word it explained: "Wæs heo eac swylice æpele in woruldgebyrdum, pæt heo wæs þæs cyninges Eadwines neafan dohter" (*ibid.*, p. 332), "She was also nobly born in earthly origin as she was a daughter of a nephew of the *king*, Eadwine." The old order with the appositive after the governing noun is preserved in both English and German in a large number of set expressions, especially geographical terms: "die Hudsonbai," "Hudson Bay"; "der St. Gothardtunnel," "St. Gotthard Tunnel," etc. Usage often differs in the two languages so that the German has the old form and the English the new: "der Michigansee," "Lake Michigan," etc. Many of these expressions that have the old form are modern formations, but they are fashioned after the analogy of older geographical terms.

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today. Of course, the appositive could also in older English precede when it was emphatic, but in the case before us it is evidently unstressed. It corresponds to our modern "King *Hérod*," "King *Édward*," etc. The historic stress of both words has been preserved, but their position in the word-order has changed. Mr. Sweet in his *New English Grammar*, II, 11, says that words like "King Alfred" could not have weak stress upon "King" in Old English. The writer believes this opinion rests upon hasty generalization. In the ninth century, as can be seen in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the appositive is usually stressed when it precedes. Usually, however, it follows the noun and has a weak sentence stress. Examples of this usage with the appositive after the noun occur in great numbers, sometimes five or six on one page. When we turn to the close of the tenth century the whole situation has changed. Now the weakly stressed appositive precedes the stressed governing noun: "to pære byrig *Hierúsalem*" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies*, p. 34), "to the city of Jerúsalem"; "se cyning *Æbelbriht*," "King Éthelbert" (*ibid.*, p. 62); "pam cyninge *Æpelbrihte*" (*ibid.*, p. 62); "to pam ércebispe *Étherium*" (*ibid.*, p. 63), "to archbishop *Étherium*"; "to pam cyninge *Cláudio*" ("The Harrowing of Hell," Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 140); "his cynehlaford *Cláudium*" (*ibid.*, p. 149), "his royal lord *Cláudium*." The old usage is also found, but not as frequently as the new. Of course, the new form did not come all at once. There were already many cases of it in the ninth century. In one particular category it had at that time become the fixed rule, namely, wherever the appositive was modified by one or more adjectives: "se arwyrða bisceop *Wilfred*" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 304), "the venerable bishop Wilfrid." There are so many such examples in this book that they attract attention, for elsewhere the old form is in general quite consistently used. The reason is evident. The adjectives indicate description, and the appositive with its descriptive force increased by its accompanying descriptive adjectives followed the example of descriptive adjectives which stood in the position before the noun. Similarly the genitive of characteristic modified by a descriptive adjective often stood before its governing noun: "pære eadigan gemynde Cuðberht" (*ibid.*, p. 358), "Cuthbert of blessed memory."

When did the new form first appear? In Gothic, the oldest Germanic language, we find: "us baurg *Nazaraip*" (Luke 2:4), "out of the city of Nazareth"; "us *Bethlaihaim* weihsa" (John 7:42), "out of the town of Bethlehem"; "from kaisara *Agustau*" (Luke 2:1); "uf *Haileisaiu* praufetau" (Luke 4:27), "in the time of the prophet Eliseus"; "maiza attin unsaramma *Abrahama*" (John 8:53), "greater than our father *Abraham*"; "wipra *Abraham* attan unsarana" (Luke 1:73). The examples have been given in pairs, the first example in the new form, the second in the old. Both forms were already known. As the author followed the Greek model we cannot judge accurately as to which form is more common. Both forms were good Gothic usage and the author simply followed the original which also had the two forms without differentiation. We see the same condition of things in Old English at the close of the tenth century. Nowhere is the old form so consistently employed as in early Old English. In early Old High German we already find the new form: "dhiu burc hierusalem" (Isodor, 27:8). Early Old English explains the fluctuations of usage in the other Germanic languages. The Old English word-order had in adnominal function retained more of the original character of primitive Germanic than that found in the other languages, and hence there was no pronounced tendency there to move the appositive to the position before the governing noun. Later this movement became prominent as in the other Germanic languages, for the word-order began to undergo a radical change. The appositive gradually came to stand before the noun as in the other languages. Thus we clearly see that the position of the appositive in the place after the noun was the original one, and this throws considerable light upon the original word-order of adnominal elements in the Germanic languages.

We now turn to constructions where the appositive is in the genitive. The original conception was the possessive idea: "mid swurde þæs heofonlican graman of slegen" (*Ælfric, Selected Homilies*, p. 59), "slain by the sword of the divine wrath." Here wrath is pictured as having a sword, but at the same time we can think of wrath as a sword. The word-order here indicates that the possessive idea is not prominent and that the derived figurative appositive sense is intended, i.e., the picture of God's wrath as a sword. Where

the original possessive force is strong the genitive precedes: "Cant-waraburg," "the Kentish people's city," i.e., "Canterbury"; "Rome-burh," "Rome's city"; "Romanaburh," "the city of the Romans"; "Suðseaxna mægð," "the Province of the South Saxons"; "uppan olivetes dune" (*Corpus, Matt. 26:30*), "upon the Mount of Olives"; "on Iunies monðe" (*Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1110), "in the month of June." The position of the genitive before the noun in these geographical names is very persistent in Old English. The writer can find the genitive *after* the noun only in the Lindisfarne MS; "on duni olebearuas" (*Matt. 26:30*), "upon the Mount of Olives." As this is a mere gloss where each English word is written over the corresponding Latin word, we cannot ascertain from it the actual order of the words in usual speech. This order is, however, found in other Germanic languages: "in swumfl Siloamis" (Wulfila, John 9:7), "in the pool of Siloam"; "at ibdaljin pis fairgunjis alewabagme" (*ibid.*, Luke 19:37), "at the descent of the Mount of Olives"; "in berge oliboumo" (Tatian, 145. 1), "on the Mount of Olives"; "brunno Iacobes" (*ibid.*, 8. 7), "Jacob's Well," etc. In spite of the confirmatory testimony of these languages it does not seem probable to the writer that the Old English genitive ever stood after the governing noun in these geographical expressions. It is true that there was a general tendency for the genitive to shift to the place after the noun, but there was a factor that hindered this development in case of geographical terms. The expressions very early lost their syntactical independence as they had become mere names. They had become completely crystallized. In the same manner we are today prevented from changing "Blairstown" (village in Iowa) into "Town of Blair." There are two different types here: "Rome [gen.] burh" and "Marmadonia ceaster" (pure apposition). In both cases the word for city follows. There was elsewhere a tendency for the genitive to move to the position after the noun and in the pure appositional type for the appositive to move to the position before the noun. In this group, however, the first of these moves never took place. There are a number of examples of the second move: "to pære byrig Hierusalem" (*Ælfric, S.H.*, p. 34). This type became fixed in German, but did not develop strength in English and soon disappeared, because, in general, the words *burh* or *byrig*, *ham*, *scire*, *wic*, *ceaster*,

etc., had become fixed *after* the noun and could not be moved. The expression "pa ceaster Glowceaster" is unknown to the writer. Such a repetition was an impossibility until after the elements had been thoroughly fused and the meaning of *ceaster* had been lost. Then it became possible to say "the city of Gloucester" (pro. gloster). Of course, for the same reason *burh*, *ham*, *scire*, *wic*, etc., could not be prefixed. We cannot even today say the "shire of Lancashire," for the final element of "Lancashire" is too plainly felt. Hence the usage of placing the words *burh*, etc., before the noun developed very slowly in English. The first instance found by the writer is very interesting: "forbearn eall meast se burh of Lincolne" (*Saxon Chronicle* for year 1123), "the city of Lincoln was almost entirely consumed by fire." Here *burh* is not placed before *Lincolne* to indicate the same meaning that Aelfric had in mind when he wrote: "we secolon faran to þære byrig Hierusalem" in the passage quoted above. Aelfric merely desired to say that the place where they should go was a city. In the passage from the *Saxon Chronicle* the word *burh* is not an attributive descriptive adjective element as in Aelfric's sentence, but a noun with concrete meaning. The *houses* and *people* of Lincoln were badly injured by the fire. Thus we find here what we have so often seen above, that the vivid force of "of" indicating an integral part or inherence led to the use of the analytic form. It is interesting to compare this example with a similar one in Aelfric's *Homilies*: "gewat to pam setle heofenan rices" (p. 64), "he went to the eternal abode of the heavenly kingdom." Aelfric represents by placing the synthetic form after the governing noun that the idea of possession has yielded to the conception of an integral part or inherence. One of the things that was inseparably connected with the heavenly kingdom was an eternal abode or resting-place. The same idea is found in the following example: "to epele þas upplican lifes orpian" (*ibid.*, p. 56), "to pant for his native land in the celestial life." A century after Aelfric's day his synthetic genitives were by a mere formal force, the loss of inflection, replaced by the analytic form. The use of "of," however, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries where inflection or non-inflection is sometimes optional, even in connection with inflection, shows clearly that there was a tendency to use the "of" for its own sake, as it was felt as a clearer expression

of the idea of an integral part: "ðat land of *thare* heuenliche Ierusalem" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 111), "the land of the heavenly Jerusalem." The author of this book urges his readers to flee this world and seek the land that belongs to the heavenly Jerusalem. Here the inflection of the definite article *thare* indicates that the impelling force here is not the lack of inflection but the natural inclination to use the expressive "of." Another entry in the *Saxon Chronicle* bearing the same date as the passage quoted above also illustrates the growth of the new tendency to use the analytic form: "pone biscoprice of Lincolne," "the bishopric of Lincoln." Here the diocese is represented as belonging to Lincoln, not in the old sense of possession, but in the new sense of close relation. Compare with the ninth-century genitive form "*Westseaxna biscophad*" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 18), "the bishopric of the West Saxons." The new idea is also seen in: "Toforen ðare burh of Ierusalem is an muchel dune" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 103), "Before the city of Jerusalem is a great hill," i.e., before the place that belonged to the city, i.e., was occupied by the city, was a hill. We have again the same idea in "upe ðare heiße dune of hersumnesse" (*ibid.*, p. 111), "upon the high hill of Obedience," i.e., on the high steep hill that we usually find in close association with a difficult duty as when Abraham went up the hill upon which he was to sacrifice his son. In all these examples we have illustrations of the analytic appositive genitive. It was only natural that this new form was extended to the appositive group of geographical terms discussed above, for the new form was used so much that it had lost in many cases its full original force and was now suitable for use as a general expression for apposition. Already in 1200 A.D. we find it here: "uppe pe munte of Synay" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 137), "upon Mount Sinai." As can be seen by the modern rendering, this new form was not in this one instance indorsed by later usage, but we have it in many other terms: "Gulf of Suez," etc. A little before 1200 in *Old English Homilies*, Series 2, we find both the old and new forms: "ieursalemes bureh" (p. 147), "pe burehg bethleem" (p. 35), "pe bureh of ierusalem" (p. 89), "munt olivette" (p. 89).

The analytic form developed much later in the appositive category than in any other. In the group of geographical terms this

was caused by the peculiar formal difficulties described above. In other groups the placing of the synthetic genitive after the noun sufficiently differentiated the appositive from the possessive idea to satisfy the first demands for a clearer expression. The loss of inflection and wide use of "of" elsewhere later suggested its usefulness here. It was quite natural that it came into use late, for its original force was not as vividly felt in this category as in most of the others. The development of the analytic form began, aside from one little group mentioned below, about 1123 A.D. as near as the writer can get at it. It thus fell in the earliest period of French influence, but it was not probably affected by it. The vocabulary of English at this time was still very little influenced by the French. Even later in *Vices and Virtues*, written about 1200, the writer has discovered only sixteen words of French origin: *Seruise* (p. 3), *religiun* (p. 5), *obedience* (p. 7), *besantes* (p. 17), *sermuns* (p. 35), *pais* (p. 59), *grace* (p. 67), *richeise* (p. 69), *charite* (p. 99), *iustise* (p. 105), *salttere* (p. 113), *patriarches* and *profetes* (p. 115), *Angles* (p. 121), *discipline* (p. 127), *spus* (131). In a number of cases English words are in other parts of the book used instead of the French words and in several instances are more common. The French words in this book are few and far between and were hard to find, as the writer had no printed vocabulary to work from. The words with three exceptions belong to the language of the church, which was under French influence. When we consider that the author of this book was himself a clergyman and under French influence we are surprised to see how few foreign elements there were in his English. Although he uses the word *iustise*, he employs English words for "judgment," "judge," "sentence." French legal terms had not as yet begun to appear in simple spoken English. These sixteen foreign words are the forerunners of the mighty throng that began to crowd into English fifty years later. There was as yet even in the speech of this clergyman no trace of the commonest French words which soon became indispensable in the language of the church: "Savior," "Creator," "Trinity," "spirit," "virgin," "prayer," "preach," "sacrifice," "salvation," "repentance," "reveal," "mercy," "pity," "pardon," "tempt," "the commandments," "conscience," "confession," "heretic," "chastity," "virtue," "vice," etc. For all

these expressions and many more this English man of God used simple English words. Hence the present title which the book bears, *Vices and Virtues*, looks very odd. In the simple language of the author it would read: "Unðeawes and Mihtes." The writer is not an etymologist and he may have overlooked a French word or two, but it seems quite sure that the language of this English writer is almost pure English, i.e., the vocabulary which from different sources had become established in the Old English period. The natural inference is that the syntax is also pure English, for it seems improbable that French could influence English syntax before it influenced the vocabulary. This would be a very unusual procedure. The writer has often heard Germans say who have lived long in Chicago: "Ich habe eine Kar geketscht." Aside from mere grammatical forms there are two words in this sentence. Both are from American speech: *Kar* = "car," *geketscht* from American "ketch" (= "catch"). Every word in this sentence is American, but the syntax is good German. It seems quite improbable that French could have influenced English syntax between 1066 and 1200 A.D. before it began to materially influence its vocabulary. Even in the later period, in the years 1250-1400, when French changed the entire character of our vocabulary, the syntax remained in all essential features true to its Germanic character. The simple language of *Vices and Virtues* seems to the writer closely linked with older English. As the analytic genitive in this book is in common use in every category it seems quite sure that the entire development is of English origin.

Let us now return to the appositive genitive. While in English the analytic form became general with names of cities, the pure appositional construction triumphed in German: "the city of Berlin," but "die Stadt Berlin," etc. Elsewhere there is not only often a difference of usage in the two languages, but usage in the same language varies widely. We find the old and the new side by side, the genitive appositive in one case and pure apposition in another case in the same category: "The month of May," but "der Monat Mai"; "the cry of fire," but "der Ruf Feuer"; "the title of king," but "der Titel König"; "the house of York," but "das Haus York"; "the island of Great Britain," but in poetry with the old form "the government of Britain's Isle" (Shakspere); "Mount of

Olives," but "Mount Hood," etc.; "The Ohio river," but "the state of Ohio"; "the kingdom of Prussia," but "das Königreich Preussen"; "Glen Miller" (a park in Richmond, Ind.), but "Lincoln Park" (in Chicago); "Moore's Hill" (Indiana town), but "Bunker Hill"; "Bull Run," but "Paddy's Run" (a little Indiana run), etc. In the little city where the writer was born there was a "Starr's Hill" where the boys in winter spent some of the happiest hours of their lives, and a "Starr Hame Works" where hames were manufactured. The hill continued to bear this name long after it passed out of Mr. Starr's hands. Later it was razed to fill up other parts of the city, but in the memory of many gray-haired men it is still a reality. Thus usage is not only very capricious, but also intimately connected with local history, so that even a skilled linguist must learn his language over again when he moves to another section of the country.

In none of the appositive groups mentioned above did the analytic genitive develop in the Old English period as far as we can see. In one group, however, we find the analytic form already in Old English: "bisin of teum hehstaldum," "the parable of the ten Virgins." This expression occurs in the Lindisfarne MS on p. 22 of the introduction to Matthew. It occurs many times, as the parables of Jesus are here summarized. The older analytic genitive also occurs. The English glossarist simply followed the Latin original. Both forms were familiar to him, for he never gives the synthetic form alongside the analytic to indicate that the analytic form is not idiomatic English. The use of the analytic form here shows that the old synthetic form did not distinctly bring out the idea that seemed to lie in the genitive here. The genitive indicates *reference* more than it suggests *possession*, hence the "of," the parable *of* or *about* the ten virgins. This was a new development and the idea was so strongly felt that it received a formal expression in the language. In German we also find "das Gleichnis vom Säemanne." Later other examples followed: "the fable of the crow" and "die Fabel von der Krähe," "the epic of Don Juan," etc. The growth of this group has been hindered by a fatal ambiguity in both German and English. In "the novel of Ivanhoe" the idea may be clear, but in many cases the name following the governing word might be felt as the name of

the author instead of the title. Thus we prefer to say: "the novel *Henry Esmond*," "der Roman *Wilhelm Meister*," etc.

We now come to the only place where we have discovered French influence. It is the analytic appositive genitive so common in both English and German in lively utterances of approval or disapproval, or in emphatic language: "a devil of a fellow," "a peach of a boy," "a jewel of a knife"; "ein alter Schelm von Lohnbedienter" (Heine). "So etwas Verschiedenes von Brüdern habe ich nun eigentlich nie wieder gesehen" (Wildenbruch). These expressions correspond to the well-known French formations "un diable d'homme," "un fripon d'enfant," etc. This analytic genitive is the modern form of the old Latin synthetic appositive genitive as found in colloquial speech; "flagitium hominis," "monstrum mulieris," "scelus viri," etc. The construction has become quite productive in both German and English, producing a large number of expressions, but all with a general similarity of meaning. It is difficult to fit this group into a native English or German genitive category. All we can do is to mention and describe it under the appositive genitive. In reality, however, it does not have anything in common with this English or German category. Although it is difficult for the grammarian to classify this construction, it has become a live part of English and German colloquial speech. It in reality does not belong to our grammar but rather to our vocabulary. We have embodied these expressions into our speech as we have taken many other French phrases.

Before we bring our study to a close we desire to mention an important development which began in the Old English period. The synthetic genitive which limited adjectives had become so loaded with meanings that very often the meaning was quite doubtful. This rich unfolding of genitive meanings is the result of a long development. One shade of meaning developed from another until there was an embarrassment of riches. Alongside this development there was another, the development of the use of prepositions in connection with nouns to indicate more accurately adverbial relations. This movement began in connection with verbs but the spread of the same usage to adjectives was natural and inevitable. The first case known to the writer is found in the Lindisfarne MS: "bolla full of æcced"

(John 19:29), "a sponge full of vinegar," "spongiam plenam aceto." There are other examples, but in this study of the adnominal genitive the development of the adverbial form cannot be discussed at length. The subject has been mentioned here only to show that the real source of all forms with "of" was not in the lack of declensional forms, but it was often in the demand for clearer and more graphic expression. The German language has in large measure preserved its inflectional systems, but it has developed here a long list of prepositional constructions with a fine shading of meaning to take the place of the old colorless adverbial genitive. This relieved the synthetic genitive of a great part of its load and made this old form more useful in adnominal relations.

In the light of the above facts the writer has recently read with a feeling of pain the following words in a book that represents one of the greatest achievements of English scholarship: "Whether 'of' might have come independently in English to be a substitute for the genitive is doubtful. In the expression of social or national origin we find 'of' and the genitive appositive interchangeable already in the ninth century . . . and this might have extended in time to other uses; but the great intrusion of 'of' upon the old domain of the genitive which speedily extended to the supersession of the Old English genitive after adjectives, verbs, and even substantives was mainly due to the influence of French *de*" (*New English Dictionary*, under "of"). This statement full of false conceptions and based upon general impressions and not upon facts will long be the source of erroneous conceptions that will be scattered all over the world. It is discouraging when we think that in the very nature of things, by reason of our short vision and imperfect knowledge, the most ardent lovers of truth must needs often join hands with the powers of darkness to scatter error. The supreme triumph of absolute truth seems far away.

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GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES

1. OE. *aēppel* 'apple, fruit; ball; eye-ball,' ON. *epli*, OHG. *phul*, *afful* 'Apfel, Augapfel,' MDu. *appel*, *apel* 'apple, apple of the eye, pommel,' etc., together with the related words outside of Germ. (for which cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 22 f.) probably go back to the primary meaning 'ball, knob, bunch.' Compare Lat. *ebulus*, *bulum* 'dwarf-elder,' 'Holunder.' For meaning cf. Nos. 20, 25, 7, 38.

2. MLG. *apel-dern* 'Ahorn' is identical with OE. *apul-der*, *-dre* 'apple-tree,' ON. *apaldr*, OHG. *affoltra*, *apholtra*, MHG. *affalter*, *pfaller* 'Apfelbaum.' This means, however, not a shift of the name from one tree to another, but the application of a descriptive term to two different trees.

3. MLG. *mapel-dorn* 'Ahorn,' OE. *mapul-dor*, *-trēo* 'maple-tree,' IE. *maple*, ON. *mopurr* 'Ahorn' are blends of an original Germ. *ap(a)la-* with other words for maple: MLG. *maser* 'Knorren am Holz, Maser; Ahorn,' ON. *mōsurr* 'Ahorn,' etc. Cf. No. 4.

4. ON. *mōsurr* 'maple,' 'Ahorn,' OHG. *masar* Maser, knorriger Auswuchs am Ahorn und anderen Bäumen,' *maserōn* 'knorrig werden,' *masala* 'Blutgeschwulst,' *māsa* 'Wundmal, Narbe; entstellender Lecken' (Schade, Kluge) contain a Germ. root *mēs-*, *mas-* 'lump, knot' which is also in ON. *mōskue* 'Masche,' OE. *max* (**masc*) 'net,' *mōscre* 'mesh,' OHG., OLG. *măsca* 'Masche,' base **mēz-g-* 'knot, nit,' Lith. *māzgas* 'Knoten,' *mezgù* 'knüpfen Knoten, stricken Netze,' etc. *mazgs* 'Knoten; Adamsapfel' (author, *Hesperia, Ergänzungsserie* 1, 8). Compare the following.

5. **Mē(m)s-* 'soft mass, flesh': Goth. *mimz* 'Fleisch,' OBulg. *qeо*, Skt. *mās*, Lith. *mēsd* 'Fleisch', Lat. *membrum* 'limb, member,' Gr. *μῆρος* (**mēsro-*) 'the upper, fleshy part of the thigh, ham,' etc. or other words see Walde², 474.

In form and meaning OHG. *masar* 'knorriger Auswuchs' is closely related to Gr. *μῆρος*. Compare also OHG. *māsa* 'Wundmal, Narbe' with OBulg. *mēzdra* 'feine Haut auf frischer Wunde, das eisichige an etwas.'

6. With these compare **maz-g-*, **maz-gh-* 'lump, soft mass' in Skt. *majjá* 'Mark des Knochens, Pflanzenstengels,' Av. *mazga-*, Bal. *maž* 'Gehirn,' ChSl. *mozgū* 'Gehirn,' OE. *mearg* 'marrow; pith,' ON. *mergr*, OHG. *marg* 'Mark,' and **moz-gh-* in Gr. *μόσχος* 'any young shoot, sprout, sucker; the young of an animal; boy' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 210; Boisacq, *Dict. Ét.* 646).

7. **Maz-d-*, **mez-d-*, **mas-t*, *maz-dh-* 'lump, bunch, mass': OE. *mæst* 'mast (of beech),' NE. *mast* 'the fruit of the oak, beech or other forest-trees,' OHG. *mast* 'Futter, Mast, Mästung, Eichelmast,' MDan. *maste* 'suck; suckle,' Gr. *μαζός*, *μασθός* 'breast, pap,' *μασθός* 'breast,' *μαστός* 'breast, esp. of the swelling breasts of a woman; udder; a round hill, knoll; goblet,' Skt. *mēdah* 'Fett,' *mēdurā-h* 'fett, dick, dicht.' Some or all of these may be derivatives of the following base (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Ét.* 598 f. with references).

8. **Mad-*, *mēd-* 'lump, bunch, mass, soft mass': Gr. *μέδεα*, *μήδεα* 'the genitals,' *μάζος* 'breast, pap,' *μεστός* 'full, filled,' Skt. *matta-h* 'trunken,' *māda-h* 'Trunkenheit, Stolz, Freude,' Goth *mats*, ON. *matr* 'Speise,' *mettr* 'satt,' OE. *mete* 'food,' NE. *meat* 'food; solid food; flesh of animals used as food; edible part of anything, as of an egg, a nut, a shell-fish,' OHG. *mazal-*, *-ol* (lump, knot), *mazol-tra* 'eine Ahornart, Massholder' (cf. Schade, *Ad. Wb.* 597), Lat. *medulla* (soft substance) 'marrow, pith, kernel,' *massa* (**mad-tā*) 'mass, lump, soft mass.'

9. **Maregh-* 'lump, bunch; lumpy, soft mass,' OE. *braegen*, NE. *brain* 'Gehirn,' Gr. *βρέχμα*, *βρέγμα*, *βρεχμός*, *βρεγμός* 'the upper part of the head' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*² 84 with references): Lat. *marga* 'marl,' 'Mergel.'

10. Goth. *mēgs* 'Schwiegersohn,' ON. *mágr* 'Verwandter durch Heirat,' OE. *mæg* 'kinsman,' OHG. *māg* 'Verwandter, cognatus, affinis,' etc., are usually compared with Goth. *magus* 'Knabe, Knecht,' etc. This is a connection that in meaning and form is objectionable. Germ. *mēga-* may be from pre-Germ. **mēko-* 'a joining together, match' with which compare OHG. *gimahalo* 'Gatte, Bräutigam,' fem. *gimahala*, *mahlen* 'verloben, desparsare' (Goth. **mahljan*, a different word from *mahlen* 'sprechen,' Goth. *maþljan*), NHG. *Gemahl(in), vermählen*.

11. Compare the synonymous Germ. *mak-*: ON. *make* 'match,

mate, pair,' *maka sik* 'pair, mate, esp. of fowls,' *makr* 'quiet, peaceful; fitting, convenient,' Swed. *mak* 'gemach,' *maka* 'zusammengehörend,' sb. 'Gattin,' *make* 'Gattin,' OE. *gemæcc* 'well matched, suitable; equal, being a match for,' *gemæcca*, -*maca* 'one of a pair, esp. a male and a female animal; mate; husband, wife,' *macian* 'arrange, manage, cause; do, make; intr. act, behave, fare,' OFris. *mek* 'Verheiratung,' OS. *gimako* 'Seinesgleichen,' MLG. *mak* 'ruhig, sanft, zahm,' *gemak* 'bequem,' *mak* 'Ruhe, Bequemlichkeit, Gemäßlichkeit; Gemach,' OHG. *gimah* 'womit verbunden, zugehörig, entsprechend, passend, bequem,' sb. 'das Zugehörige, Verbindung, Bequemlichkeit, Annehmlichkeit,' *gimahha* 'conjux,' *kamahho* 'socius,' *gimahhōn* 'verbinden, passend machen,' *mahhōn* 'zu Stande bringen, hervorbringen, anstellen, bewirken, componere, concinnare, jungere, conficere, parare; treiben, betreiben, machen, facere, moliri, machinari; refl. sich bereit machen, sich rüsten; sich wohin machen, eine Richtung wohin einschlagen,' MDu. *macker*, Du., EFris. *makker* 'Genosse, Kamerad.'

These words are wrongly compared by Meringer, *IF.* XVII, 146 ff., with Gr. *μαγέβς* 'der Knetende,' OBulg. *mazati* 'schmieren,' etc., with which compare ON., NIcel. *maka* 'smear, grease' (*IE. a^x:a^xi:a^xu* 34).

In *make* and its cognates there is no trace of 'smearing, daubing' or 'kneading, baking,' but of 'arranging, contriving, making fit, preparing, etc.' The pre-Germ. root was probably **mēg-* from the IE. root **mē* in Skt. *mā-* (*māti*, *mīmāti*, *mīmītē*) 'messen, abmessen, durchmessen, ermessen, vergleichen mit; intr. dem Mass entsprechen, Raum finden in (:OHG. *gimah* 'zugehörig, entsprechend, passend, bequem'); zuteilen, bereiten, bilden, ververtigen,' *mīta-h* 'gleichkommend, betragend,' with *upa-* 'vergleichen, gleich,' with *mis-* 'gemacht, geschaffen, gebildet von, bewirkt, festgesetzt, bestimmt,' *māpayati* 'lässt messen, bauen, herrichten; misst, baut,' *māti-h* 'Mass,' Gr. *μῆτις* 'wisdom, skill; plan, undertaking,' *μῆτιάω* 'plan, intend; devise, bring about,' OE. *mēþ* 'measure, degree, proportion; efficacy, (human) power, capacity; what is fitting, right; respect,' *gemæte* 'of suitable dimensions, fitting well,' *gemel* 'fit, proper, right,' OHG. *mezzan* 'messen; messend gestalten, bilden, dichten,' Gr. *μήδομαι* 'intend, devise, plan, bring about, make,' etc. (cf. No. 15).

The root **mēg-* therefore meant 'measure off, give the (proper)

measure to, make even, like, suitable, convenient; measure off, lay out, plan, contrive, make.'

Compare Lith. *mégti* (angemessen, passend sein, commodare) 'wohlgefallen,' *mégstus* (commodus) 'ergötlich, gefällig,' *mègus* 'vergnügungssüchtig': ON. *makr* 'passend, bequem,' 'commodus,' MHG. *gemach* 'passend, bequem, angenehm, ruhig,' etc. Here also probably Lett. *mègt* 'probiren,' Lith. *mèginti* 'prüfen, versuchen' (:OHG. *mezzan* 'messen, abmessen: vergleichend betrachten, erwägen, überlegen, prüfen,' MDu. *meten* 'messen: untersuchen').

12. ON., NIcel. *mók* 'doze, slumber; drowsiness,' *móka* 'doze, be drowsy' belong here also. Compare especially ON. *makr* 'quiet, peaceful,' *makindi* 'rest, ease, comfort,' MLG. *mak* 'ruhig, sanft, zahm,' sb. 'Ruhe, Bequemlichkeit, Gemach.'

13. NHG. *mäkeln*, *makeln* 'den Unterhändler machen, Maklergeschäfte treiben' is properly referred to LG. *maken* 'make.' But the word is a derivative of *make* in the older sense 'join, bring together, arrange': OHG. *machōn* 'componere, jungere, facere,' OS. *macon* 'fügen, bereiten,' MLG. *makeligge, -inge* 'Vermittlerin, Kupplerin,' *makeler, mekeler* 'Mäkler,' MHG. *mechele* 'Kupplerin,' *mecheler* 'Unterkäufer, Mäkler,' MDu. *makelaar* 'Vermittler; Kuppler,' fem. *makelerse, -ligge, -laerster*.

It is a noteworthy fact that though the nouns occur in MDu., MLG., and MHG., there are no corresponding verbs. This is because the nouns were derived from *makon*, *machōn* with the suffixes abstracted from *Vermittler*, *Kuppler*: MDu. *middelaer* 'Vermittler, Mäkler,' fem. *middlelarse, -lige, -laerster*, *coppelaer* 'Kuppler,' fem. *-lerse, -laerster*, MLG. *mitteler* 'Vermittler, Unterhändler,' MHG. *mitteler, kuppelære, -ler*. From the noun was abstracted the verb *mäkeln*, *makeln*.

14. NHG. *mäkeln* 'kleinlich tadeln, bekritteln' is supposed to be identical with the above *mäkeln*. This is improbable. Compare rather Norw. *makla*, *mikla*, *mjakla* 'hakke, pirke,' 'hack, pick at,' *mekla* 'spise langsomt og smaat, med svag appetit,' 'pick at, eat daintily and with little appetite.' *Mäkeln* is therefore a LG. word: E Fris. *mäkeln*, *makeln* 'tadeln,' Pruss. *mäkeln* 'Kleinigkeiten tadeln, Fehler aufsuchen, namentlich an den Speisen einen Makel finden,' *mäklig* 'wählerisch.' The word spread into the HG.: Als. *makelen*

'ohne besondere Lust essen,' Swiss *maggelen* 'langsam, bedächtig mit wenig Appetit essen; währisch sein im Essen.'

These may be related to Lith. *māžas* 'klein,' *māžinti* 'klein machen, verringern.' In meaning this also can be compared with **mē-* 'measure': Skt. *mita-ḥ* 'abgemessen, kärglich, klein,' OE. *metan* 'measure, mark off, fix bounds,' *māte* 'insignificant; small, few; bad,' MHG. *mäzen* 'abmessen, Mass und Ziel stecken, mässigen, beschränken, verringern.'

15. ME., NE. *mate* 'associate, companion; equal, match; one of a pair; a ship's officer whose duty it is to oversee the execution of the orders of the master or commander,' MDu. *mael* 'mate,' Du. *maat* 'Genosse, Kamerad,' MLG. *mät, mate* 'Genosse, Kamerad, Gehülfe, bes. in der Schifffersprache,' EFRIS. *mät* 'Genosse, Gehülfe, Spielgenosse, Freund, Bursche,' OHG. *gimazzo*, MHG. *gimazze* 'Tischgenosse' contain a Germ. *(ga)matan- 'mate, equal,' which is not a derivative of **mati-* 'food, meat,' but of the root *mēd-, mōd-* 'measure: measure with, compare, make like.'

Compare OE. *gemet* 'fit, proper, right,' *gemæte* 'of suitable dimensions, fitting well,' NE. *meet* 'fit, right, suitable, proper, convenient, adapted, appropriate,' earlier also 'proper, own; equal; even (with),' sb. 'equal, companion,' NIcel. *mátar* 'friends,' OHG. *gimäzi* 'angemesen, gemäss, aequalis,' MHG. *mäzen* 'abmessen; gleichstellen, vergleichen mit,' MDu. *mate* 'gematigd, zachtzinnig, vriendelijk, minzaam,' *maten* 'meten; matigen; zich matigen; passen, lijken'; OSwed. *möt* 'Mass,' MLG. *möтиch* 'geneigt, willig'; Lat. *commodus* 'suitable, fit, proper, appropriate, convenient, friendly, gentle': Skt. *mā-* 'messen, abmessen, vergleichen mit,' *upa-mita-ḥ* 'vergleichen, gleich.'

16. Goth. *gamōt* 'findet Raum, χωρεῖ,' OE. *mōt* 'have opportunity, am allowed,' OHG. *muozzan* 'Raum haben; die Gelegenheit, Freiheit, Veranlassung wozu haben; dürfen, mögen, können, müssen,' etc., have long been referred to *messen* and *Musse* (cf. Schade, Wb. 630).

This connection was not generally accepted until Meringer's explanation appeared in *IF. XVIII*, 211 ff. But if the old explanation was faulty, Meringer's is worse. For if 'ich darf' could not have sprung from 'ich habe für mich ausgemessen,' much less could it come

from 'habe meine Abgabe entrichtet.' It is easy to see how 'ought' comes from 'owed,' but how could it grow out of 'I have paid my debts'?

If *gamōt* is an original perfect, as Brugmann, *IF.* XXXII, 189, insists, and not an original present, of the root *med-*, as it seems more probable to me, then it must have meant originally 'I have apportioned, allotted,' and then 'I have an apportionment, allotment: space, time, opportunity, permission, power, necessity.' In German: 'ich habe (mir) zugemessen, zugeteilt' > 'ich habe (etwas mir) Zugemessenes, Zugeteiltes: Raum, Zeit, Gelegenheit, Erlaubnis, Kraft, Zwang.'

The change from the active to the passive force is common enough, and the development in meaning is just what we have in the related nouns: OSwed. *mōt* 'Mass,' OHG. *muoza* 'angemessene Gelegenheit wozu, licentia, facultas, Freiheit wozu, Gestattung, Möglichkeit, otium, freie Zeit, Musse,' MHG. also 'Bequemlichkeit,' *muozan* 'freie Zeit haben, zur Ruhe kommen,' MDu. *moete* 'vrije of ledige tijd; tjd, geschikte gelegenheid, leisure, opportunity,' Goth. *mōta* (das Zugeteilte, the part to be paid) 'Zoll,' OE. *mōt* 'toll, tax,' MHG. *muoze* 'Mahllohn,' ON. *mót* (modus) 'Art, Beschaffenheit, Merkmal' (cf. Noreen, *Abriss* 43): OHG. *māza* 'Mass, zugemessene Menge, abgegrenzte Ausdehnung in Raum, Zeit, Gewicht, Kraft; Art und Weise; gemessene richtige gehörige Grösse, rechtes gebührendes Mass; Angemessenheit; Mässigung,' OHG. *mezzan* 'messen, abmessen, ausmessen; zumessen, zuteilen, geben,' etc.: Skt. *mā-* 'messen, abmessen; zuteilen, gewähren, bereiten; dem Mass entsprechen, Raum finden in': Goth. *gamōt* 'findet Raum.'

It is evident from the above that *gamōt* did not mean 'ich habe meine Abgabe entrichtet,' and may not even have had any direct reference to duties or tolls imposed, though it did, of course, refer to something assigned or granted by a higher authority or by fate, *metod*. But this allotment was not simply, or even mainly, an obligation or tax imposed, but more often a favor granted. And just as Skt. *mā-* meant *tr.* 'zumessen, zuteilen' and *intr.* 'dem Mass entsprechen, Raum finden in,' so Germ. *gamōtan* meant ('zumessen, zuteilen'): 'Raum, Zeit, Gelegenheit, Kraft, Zwang (*muoza*) haben.'

It is, therefore, self-evident that when one of our ancestors said: *ik mōt it dōn, ih muoz ez tuon*, he was saying (whether he knew it or not): 'I have the lot, am allotted to do it.' According to circumstances this would mean, just like NE. *I am to do it*: 'I may, can, shall, or must do it.'

It may be added, what is perhaps unnecessary after the preceding discussion, that the idea of 'freedom, leisure' (*Musse*) came from 'grant, give' (:OHG. *mezzan* 'zumessen, zuteilen, geben,' Skt. *mā-*'zumessen, zuteilen, gewähren,' with *upa-* 'zuteilen, verleihen'), just as in NE. *leisure*, Fr. *loisir*, OFr. *leisir*, *loisir* 'permission, leisure,' Lat. *licere* 'be permitted.' And though it is all very true: "Wer seine *mōta* entrichtet hat, *gamōt*, der ist frei, 'hat Raum,'" yet the meaning 'hat Raum,' *gamōt*, could not possibly come from 'hat seine *mōta* entrichtet.' For *gamōt* does not refer to a duty done by a vassal, but to a privilege or permission granted or a duty imposed by a lord or by fate.

17. Goth. *ga-mōtjan* 'begegnen' does not imply a **mōtjan* 'Mota zahlen' (so Meringer, *IF*. XVIII, 212), for *gamōtjan*, ON. *mōta* 'begegnen,' OE. *mētan*, *gamētan* 'find, discover, come upon, meet,' OFris. *mēta*, OS. *mōtian* 'begegnen,' MLG. *mōten* 'zufällig begegnen; entgegen gehen; hemmend entgegentreten, abwehren,' MDu. *moelen*, etc., are not denominatives of Goth. *mōta* 'Zoll' but of ON. *mōt* n. 'meeting, encounter,' OE. *gemōt* 'meeting, council, discussion; battle,' MDu. *moet* 'meeting,' etc. But MLG. *mōte*, *mute* 'Begegnung, Zusammentreffen,' whence MHG. *muste*, is from the verb: Goth. **mōteins*.

From OE. *gemōt* 'meeting; discussion' comes *mōtian* 'talk, make speech, discuss, dispute.' This might lead us to assume that 'discussion, counsel' was the original meaning: OHG. *mezzan* 'stückweise u. abgemessen vorlesen od. sprechen,' Gr. *μήδεα* 'counsels, plans.'

But the evidence points rather to the primary meaning 'meeting, meeting-place.' Hence if the word belongs to **mēd-* 'measure,' pre-Germ. **mōdo-m* must first have meant 'a measuring, measure' (:OSwed. *mōt* 'Mass', ON. *mōt* 'modus, Art u. Weise'), and then, perhaps, 'a place measured or marked out, space, ring: meeting-place for barter, discussion, judicial proceedings, ordeals, combat, religious

rites, etc.' Compare OE. *metan* 'measure: mark off, fix bounds,' *gemet* 'measure: boundary, limits,' MHG. *mezzen* 'messen, messen bei zauberischem Heilverfahren,' *mez-stat* 'Platz, wo das verkäufliche Getreide gemessen werden musste,' Goth. *maþl* 'Versammlungsplatz, Markt' (if from **mod-tlo-*), *maþljan* 'reden,' OE. *mæfel* 'meeting, council; harangue, talking,' OHG. *mahal* 'Gericht, Gerichtsitzung,' *mahlen* 'sprechen.'

Or the primary meaning of the above may have been 'measure with, make like, match, compare, join together: gathering, meeting': OHG. *gimazzo* 'Genosse,' *gemäzi* 'angemessen, gemäss, aequalis,' MHG. *mäzen* 'gleichstellen,' NE. *mate* 'companion, equal; match,' vb. 'join or match as a mate; match one's self with or against': OHG. *gimah* 'womit verbunden,' *kamahho* 'socius,' OE. *gemæcca* 'mate,' NE. *match* 'companion, mate, equal; a mating or pairing; an engagement for a contest or game, the contest or game itself': Skt. *mā-* 'messen, vergleichen mit.'

18. Goth. *manwus* 'bereit,' *manwjan* 'bereit-, zurecht machen,' *ga-m.* 'einem etwas (zu)bereiten zu,' p.p. 'geschickt, bereit, zubereitet' may be compared with Skt. *mānam* 'Messen, Masstab, Mass; Bild, Erscheinung, Ähnlichkeit; Beweis, Beweisstand': *mā-* 'messen, abmessen; zuteilen, gewähren, bereiten, bilden, verfertigen, offenbaren,' *mita-h* 'abgemessen, kärglich, klein': Gr. μάρν·μικρόν, μᾶρβς (*μαρφός) 'thin, loose, slack; few, scanty,' μῶνος (*μόνος), Ion. μοῦνος, Dor. μῶνος (marked off, separated) 'alone, solitary,' Ir. *menb* (*menyos) 'small,' etc. (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Ét.* 608 with references): OE. *mæte* 'insignificant; small, few; bad,' MHG. *mäzen* 'abmessen, beschränken, verringern,' *mæzec* 'mässig, enthalt-sam; klein, gering, wenig,' MLG. *mate* 'mässig, gering, wenig.'

19. ON. *baðmr* 'tree' is parallel in formation but not identical with Goth. *bagms* 'tree.' Both may go back to the primary meaning 'clump, mass, stock.' With the former compare Russ. *batū* 'Eichenstock, Knüttel,' Slovén. *bât* 'Kolben, Holzschlägel,' *batati* 'prügeln.' The root is probably **bhät*, **bhøt*, perhaps from **bhuält*, **bheuält*, which may be in the following.

20. Germ. **bud-*, **butt-*, **bält-*, **baut-* 'swell, be big, thick, clumsy, dull, etc.,' and 'swell, sprout, bud': ME. *busde* 'bud,' N.E. *bud*, MHG. *butte* 'Fruchtknopf der Hagerose'; *butze* 'Masse, Klumpen,' *butzen*

'turgere,' NHG. Steir. *putz* 'Kerngehäuse beim Obst,' *putzen butzen* 'Klümpchen weichen Stoffes aller Art; Knospe; knotig verdickte Stelle der Haut; in der Entwicklung zurückgebliebnes Tier,' *botzen* 'Knospe, Spross, Keim; Samen- oder Kerngehäuse bei Kernfrucht; knotige verdickte Stelle im Kerzendocht,' Als. *butz* 'Kerngehäuse des Obstes; Eiterbeule; Eiterpfropf; getrockneter Nasenschleim; Menge, Haufen,' Du. *bot* 'Auswuchs an Bäumen,' EFris. *button* 'sprossen, knospen,' *but (butt)* 'dick, stark, grob, plump,' NE. *butt* 'thick end of anything,' *buttock* 'either of the two protuberances which form the rump in men and animals,' OE. *buttuc* 'end'; MHG. *büzen* 'aufschwellen,' *büze* 'das Hervorsprossen, Ausschlagen,' ON. *búr* 'Klotz, Stumpf'; MLG. *böte* OHG. *bōzo* 'Flachsbindel,' NHG. Als. *bose* 'Bund glatten Weizenstrohes; Flachsbindel, Bündel Weiden u. dgl.'

These may be from the root **bheugā-* 'grow, swell; become, be.' Compare especially Gr. φυτόν 'plant, tree; growth on the body, tumor,' φύμα 'growth; tumor, boil,' OHG. *boum* 'Baum; Balken,' etc.

21. ON. *bode* 'breaker,' 'Brandung,' Norw. *bode* 'eddy, bubbling water,' *boda* 'bubble,' MLG. *boddele* 'aufwallende Wasserblase,' *boddelen buddelen* 'Blasen aufwerfen,' EFris. *buddeln* 'sprudeln, brodeln, schäumen, Blasen werfen; sich mit Geräusch waschen und baden,' Waldeck *bud'l'n* 'sich im Sande baden, von Hühnern,' Wfal. *buddeln* 'wühlen, vom Maulwurfe,' NHG. *butteln* 'schäumend sprudeln,' MHG. *bütteln* 'rütteln' may likewise be referred to the root *bheugā-* of the above. Compare especially Serb. *bujati* 'toben,' *bujan* 'heftig, stürmisch,' *bujica* 'Giessbach,' Pol. *bujac* 'schweifen, fliegen, schwärmen, ausgelassen sein,' LRuss. *bujáty* 'ausgelassen sich herumtreiben; üppig wachsen, wuchern,' etc. For other allied words see Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 98.

The primary meaning of the root **bheugā-* was, of course, not 'become, be' or even 'grow, swell,' but 'spring, spring up' or the like.

Parallel in meaning and development with the above are many Germ. words from the base *būb-*, *bubb-* in the following.

22. ON. *býfa* 'club-foot,' Norw. *büva büve* 'a clumsy person, lubber,' *buva* 'squat,' 'hocken,' *bov* 'a big, heavy-set person; a big acting person,' *bova* 'boast,' Swed. dial. *bobb* 'a short, thick person; a short, thick insect,' *bobbe* 'lubber,' ON. *bobbi* 'knot; snail-shell,' ME *bobbe* 'cluster,' NE. *bob* 'a small round object swinging loosely at the

end of a cord or wire,' NHG. Als. *boppe* 'Knäuel Hanf,' *boppi* 'Mops, dicker Hund,' *buppe* 'Gebund Hanf oder Tabak, Büschel Werg, Fruchtzapfen der Kiefer,' *buppisch* 'klein, zierlich,' Steir. *popper* 'Eiterbeule,' *popperl* 'Knötchen, Hitzbläschen,' *poppeln* 'Blasen werfen, sprudeln; drängend und stossend vorwärts fallen (von plumpem Gehen),' Swab. *poppel* 'kugelförmiger, nicht allzu grosser Körper: Knäuel Faden, Garn, Wolle; Knötchen auf der Haut, bes. im Gesicht; in der Kindersprache für kugelförmige Früchte, Obst, bes. Beeren, kleine Kartoffel, Kernlein; kleiner Mensch, kleines Tier, kleines Kind, kindische Person, dummer Mensch,' MDu. *bobbel* *bubbel* 'Blätter, Beule; Wasserblase,' Du. *bobbel* *bobberen* 'Blasen aufwerfen,' MLG. *bubbeln*, NE *bubble*, etc.

In Slavic occur similar words: LRuss. *búba* 'kleines Geschwür,' *búben* 'kleiner Junge, Knirps,' *bubnítvý* 'aufschwellen,' Serb. *bubuljica* 'Blase, Pustel; Knoten; Erdhaufen; Art Pflaume,' *búban* 'Art Bohne,' *búbla* 'Klumpen,' Czech *boubel* *bublina* 'Wasserblase,' etc. These words are otherwise explained by Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 78 f.

23. ON. *bófe*, MLG. *böve* 'Bube,' MDu. *boeve* *boef* 'Knappe, Knecht; Bube, Bengel,' MHG. *buobe* 'Knabe, Diener; zuchtloser Mensch; die weibl. Brüste,' etc., presuppose a Germ. **bōban-* 'clump, lump: lumpish fellow, clod, undersized person, boy.' For meaning compare NHG. Hess *knabe* 'Stift, Bolze,' OHG. *knabo* 'Knabe, Jüngling, Diener,' MHG. *knebel* 'Knebel; Knöchel; grober Gesell, Bengel.'

Germ. **bōban-* may therefore be compared with Lat. *faba* 'bean,' primarily 'lump,' Russ. *bobǔ*, OPruss. *babo* 'bean,' etc.

If these are from IE. **bh(y)ābhon-* (Germ. **bōban-*) and **bh(y)əbhā* (Lat. *faba*), they may be related to the words given under No. 22, and even remotely connected, as derivatives of the root **bheyd-*, with ON. *baun*, OE. *bēan*, OHG. *bōna* 'Bohne.'

24. Goth. *bagms* 'tree' may be compared with Lith. *bāzmas* 'Menge, Masse,' *būžė* 'Keule; Klöppel am Dreschflegel; Kopf der Stecknadel' and also OE. *bōg* 'shoulder, arm; bough, branch,' OHG. *buog* 'Bug,' MHG. *büegen* 'biegen,' ON. *baga* 'anything twisted,' Gr. πῆχυς 'elbow,' Skt. *bāhū-h* 'arm; fore-leg,' etc.

Here also **bhəgh-*, **bhāgh-* may be from **bhūāgh-*. Compare Lith. *bužmas* 'Falte, Krause' from **bhūghmos*. Compare also **bhṇgh-* in

Skt. *bahú-h* 'strong, much,' *bahulá-h* 'thick; abundant,' Gr. *παχύς* 'thick, large, fat; thick-witted, dull,' OHG. *bungo* 'Knolle,' MDu. *bonge* 'plug, bung of a barrel,' NE. *bung*, and ablaut-forms in ON. *bingr* 'Haufen,' MHG. *bengel* 'Prügel,' NHG. *Bengel*.

25. NIcel. *beyki* 'beech' has Germ. *-au-*, which may represent IE. *-ou-* rather than *-eu-*. IE. *-ou-* may also be in Russ. *buziná*, dial. *buzú* 'Holunder.' The ablaut *-ū* occurs in LRuss. dial. *búze* 'Holunder, Flieder,' Kurd. *büz* 'Art Ulme,' and *-u-* in Russ. dial. *bozú* 'Holunder,' etc. With these are supposed to be related Gr. *φηγός* 'oak,' Lat. *fagus* 'beech,' ON. *bók*, OHG. *buohha* 'Buche,' etc. (cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 111, with references), which in that case may be from **bh(u)āg-* not **bhāg(u)ā-*, and possibly derivatives of the root **bheuā-*.

The primary meaning of the base **bheuā-ā-* would naturally be 'swelling, hump, bunch, etc.,' and from this meaning are better derived the following words, which are now commonly connected with the above: OHG. *büh* 'Bauch; Rumpf,' MHG. *büch* 'Schlägel, Keule eines Kalbes,' MDu. *buuc* 'belly, rump; half or quarter of a slaughtered animal; bulge; beehive,' OE. *būc* 'pitcher; stomach,' etc. That these words originally meant 'beechen vessel' is altogether improbable.

Similarly from *gʷʰel-* 'swell' come Gr. *βάλανος* 'acorn, ben-nut, date, chestnut; the trees that bear these fruits,' Lat. *glans* 'the fruit of the oak, beech, chestnut, etc.,' Gr. *βαλάντιον* 'bag, pouch, purse.'

26. ON. *býte* 'Tausch, Beute,' *býta* 'tauschen, verteilen,' MLG. *bülen* 'tauschen, verteilen; erbeuten' etc., are compared with Ir. *buaid* 'Sieg,' Welsh *budd* 'utilitas, commodum, quaestus' (Fick II⁴, 175).

These may be derivatives of the root **bheyā* in Skt. *bhávati* 'werden, geschehen, gedeihen; jmd zufallen oder zu teil werden, gereichen zu,' with *anu-* 'jmd helfen, dienlich sein; erreichen, gleichkommen; bewältigen, umfassen, einschliessen; empfinden, geniessen,' with *abhi-* 'herankommen, sich jmd zuwenden, jmd beschenken mit; jmd bedrängen, bezwingen, überwältigen,' *bhāvayati* 'bringt hervor, hegt, fördert, übt aus, zeigt,' Lat. *faveo, favor, faustus*, MIr. *buan* 'gut,' *bā* 'Nutzen' (cf. Fick II⁴, 163), ChSl. *pobyl'* 'Sieg,' Serb. *dō-bit* 'Erwerb, Gewinn, Nutzen; Sieg,' Russ.

dobýča 'Gewinn, Beute,' Skt. *bháti-h bhūti-h* 'Kraft, Macht, Gedeihen, Wohl, Heil, Glück, Schmuck,' etc.

With the same determinative (*d-formans*) occur also Czech *bydlo* 'Aufenthaltsort, Wohnung,' *bydliti* 'leben, wohnen,' Pol. *bydło* 'Vieh' (i.e., 'Gewinn, Habe'), OE. *botl* 'dwelling, house,' *byllan* 'build; fortify,' etc. (Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 112).

Compare the following, which are possibly from **bh(y)ðd-*, and certainly closely related in meaning.

27. Goth. *bōta* 'Vorteil, Nutzen,' *bōtjan* 'nützen,' *batiza* 'bessere,' *gabatnan* 'Vorteil haben,' ON. *batna* 'besser werden,' NE. *batten* 'improve, grow fat, thrive,' OFris. *bata* 'Vorteil, Gewinn,' *batia* 'helfen, frommen,' etc., Av. *baðrō* 'glücklich, gesegnet,' Skt. *bhadrá-h* 'erfreulich, glücklich, günstig, gut, schön,' *bhadram* 'Glück, Heil,' but not *bhádatē* 'glänzt, funkelt,' which belongs to a different range of meanings.

In meaning and form Germ. **büt-*: **bōt-*, **bat-* can be compared as well as Germ. **būb-*: **bōb-* in ON. *búð* 'Aufenthalt, Zelt, Bude' (:Skt. *bháti-h* 'Kraft, Macht, Gedeihen, Wohl, Heil, Glück,' Serb. *bice* 'Dasein, Wesen, Stand, Zustand; Stoff, Eigenschaft; Wohnung; Vermögen, Hab und Gut,' etc.): MLG. *bōde*, MHG. *buode* 'Hütte, Bude,' OS. *bōdlos* pl. 'Haus u. Hof, Hausgerät,' MLG. *bōdel* 'das Gesammte Vermögen,' etc.

28. Goth. *barsms* 'Schoss, Busen,' ON. *barmr*, OE. *barm*, OHG. OS. *barm* are referred to the root **bher-* 'bear.' It is more probable that the primary meaning was 'swell, projection,' and that the words are the same as ON. *barmr* 'brim, edge,' from a root **bher-* 'rise, swell, project, etc.' Compare **bher-s-* in Skt. *bhrṣṭi-h* 'Zacke, Spitze; Kante, Ecke,' Ir. *borr* 'gross, stolz,' OHG. *parrēn* 'starr emporstehen,' *parrunga* 'Stolz, Hochmut,' etc.; **bher-dh-* in ON. *barð* 'Bart, Steven, Rand, Saum,' *borð* 'Rand, Schiffsbord,' etc.; **bher-gh-* in Skt. *bṛhānt-* 'dick, dicht, stark, gross, hoch,' OHG. *berg*, *burg*, etc.

29. OE. *brōm* 'broom,' *brēmel* 'bramble,' OHG. *brāmo* 'Dorn-, Brombeerstrauch,' etc., are from a base **bhrē-m-* 'rise, project,' with which compare **bhor-m-* in No. 28. Closely related are OE. *brēme* '(high) famous, noble,' OSw. *bram* 'Staat, Pomp,' Swed. dial. *brama* 'sich brüsten, prunken,' Norw. *brama* 'prangen,' NHG. Steir. *bram* 'Saum, Rand,' MLG. *brem* 'Verbrämung,' OE. *brymme* 'border, shore,' NE. *brim*, etc.

Compare the similar development in meaning in **bher-s-*: OHG. *parrēn* 'starr emporstehen,' *parrunga* 'Stolz, Hochmut,' Ir. *borr* 'gross, stolz,' Skt. *bṛ̥ṣṭi-h* 'Zacke, Spitze; Kante, Ecke,' etc.

30. ON. *bringa* 'Brust,' NIcel. *bringa* 'chest; brisket; grassy slope' are related to MHG. *brangen, prangen* 'prangen, prahlen,' Skt. *bṛ̥hati, bṛ̥hāti* 'kräftigt, stärkt, macht fest,' *bṛ̥hānt-* 'dick, stark, hoch,' etc. Cf. No. 28.

31. Swed. dial. *brekka, briksa* 'breast,' 'Brust' belong similarly to ON. *brekka* 'steile Anhöhe,' NIcel. *brekka* 'slope,' MLG. *brink* 'Hügel, Rand eines Hügels, Rand, Ufer,' NE. *brink*: MDu. *bronken* 'stolz sein, pochen; mürrisch sein,' NHG. *prunken*.

32. OE. *brōc* 'trousers,' *pl. brēc* 'breech, hind quarters,' OHG. *bruoh* 'Bruch, Hose' etc., represent a Germ. **brōk-*, the original meaning of which was probably 'thick, big,' as descriptive of the breech or buttocks. Compare NHG. Swab. *bruch* (-ue-) 'dicker Mann,' *bruchig* 'dick, von einem Mann; unbeholfen.'

Since from 'thick, big' come words for 'tuft, clump, bush,' we may compare NE. *brake* 'thicket; bush,' Norw. *brake* 'juniper' (for meaning compare Norw. *brūse* 'tuft, bunch: juniper'), MLG. *brake* 'Zweig,' EFRIS. *brak* 'allerlei wild und wirr durcheinander wachsendes Gesträuch,' and also Lat. *frāgum* 'strawberry-plant,' primarily 'bunch,' either in reference to the plant or the berry.

33. OE. *brand* 'brand, sword,' ON. *brandr* 'blade of a sword; post,' Norw. *brand* 'stake, post; sword' probably represent pre-Germ. **bhrontō-* 'point, edge.' Compare Lat. *frons, -tis* 'brow, front, exterior.' For meaning compare Russ. *brevnó* 'Balken,' Bulg. *bürv* 'Balken, Klotz; Brücke,' OBulg. *brūvъ* 'Braue,' ON. *brún* 'Braue; Rand.'

If OE. *brand* 'fire-brand' is the same as *brand* 'sword,' then the primary meaning was 'stick,' 'Holzscheit.' But (fire)-*brand* is probably a derivative of *burn*, identical with OHG. *brant* 'Brand,' NE. *brand* 'a mark made by burning,' etc.

34. OE. *brant* 'lofty, high' (ship), *brenting* (prow) 'ship,' NE. dial. *brant* 'steep, proud,' ON. *brattr* 'steil,' *bretta* 'emporrichten,' Norw. *bretta* 'raise; turn up (sleeves); strut' are from pre-Germ. **bhrond-* 'rise, swell, etc.' Compare Lat. *frons, -dis* (tuft, bunch) 'a leafy branch, foliage,' Lith. *brandus* 'körnig,' *brēsti* 'einen Fruchtkern gewinnen; reifen.'

Beside the many bases **bherex-* 'rise, swell; become bushy; project, become pointed,' etc., occur synonymous bases **bhrēu-x-*.

35. Base **bhrēu-* 'anything swollen, big, projecting: brow; beam, bridge, etc.': OE. *brū* 'brow,' ON. *brú* 'Brücke,' *brún* 'Braue; Rand,' Skt. *bhrú-h*, OBulg. *brúvъ* 'Braue,' LRuss. dial. *berv* 'Baumstumpf,' *bérvá* 'Stegbrücke,' etc.

Compare the following in which the underlying meaning is 'swell, be big': ON. *brum* 'bud,' 'Knospe,' Norw. *brum* 'buds; fresh twigs for fodder,' *bruma* 'bud, bloom' (for meaning cf. No. 20); Skt. *bhrūñá-h* 'embryo,' Ir. *brú* 'body, belly,' MHG. *brüne* 'weibl. Scham,' and perhaps Gr. *φρύνη*, *φρῦνος* 'toad' (compare Swäb. *protze* 'sich aufblähen,' *protz* 'Kröte'); LRuss. *brýta* 'Klumpen, Scholle,' Russ. *brylá* 'Lippe, hängende Unterlippe; Rand, Saum; Krämpfe des Schlapphutes.'

36. Base **bhreu-k-*: MHG. *brogen* 'sich erheben, in die Höhe richten; sich übermütig erheben, gross tun, prunken; tr. in die Höhe, zum Zorn bringen,' NHG. Steir. *brogen*, *brogeln* 'sich erheben, gross tun, prahlen,' Als. *broge* 'widerreden, grob oder spöttisch antworten; mürrisch sein, mürrisch reden,' MHG. *bröuc*, -*ges* 'Hügel,' *brügel* 'Prügel, Knüttel,' *brüge* 'Brettergerüst,' *brücke*, OHG. *brucka*, OE. *brycg*, etc. Compare Russ. *brusú* (-s- from -k-) 'vierkantig behauener Balken,' LRuss. *brus* 'Balken; Klippe,' Pol. *brus* 'Balken.' With these compare **bhrūg-* in ON. *brúk* 'heap of washed up seaweed; arrogance, boastfulness,' EFr. *brükel* 'unfreundlich, mürrisch.'

37. Base **bhrēud-*: MHG. *briezen* 'anschwellen, Knospen treiben,' *sich úf br.* 'sich aufblähen, brüsten,' *úz br.* 'anschwellen, Beulen, Ausschlag bekommen,' NHG. Swiss *erbriesse* refl. 'sich stellen, wichtig machen, wehren, aufbegehren,' OHG. *proz*, MHG. *broz* 'Knospe, Sprosse,' *brozzen* 'Knospen treiben, sprossen,' NHG. Steir. *bross* 'Spross, Knospe, Zweiglein,' Swab. *bross*, *brotz* 'Knospe; junger Coniferentrieb; Zweige an Bäumen u. Sträuchern,' *brotz* 'sprossen,' with which is identical *protze* 'stolz tun, sich aufblähen,' *protz* 'Kröte; ungebildeter, anmassender, reicher Mann,' *bross* 'stolz,' Steir. *brotz(er)* 'Grosstuer, eingebildeter, dummer Mensch,' *brotze(l)n* 'grosstun, prahlen; widersprechen; schmollen,' Lothr. *prutze* 'trotzen, die Lippen aufwerfen,' WFlem. *brotten* 'verdriesslich sein,' Norw. *brote*

'heap, mass; bush,' *brot* 'steep ascent; brush,' *brotā* 'heap up,' *brotā* 'powerful, abundant,' *brytja* 'big, strong, clumsy,' *brøytar* 'a capable but blustering fellow.'

38. Base **bhrēus-*: Norw. *brusa* 'sich ausbreiten, sich buschen; sich brüsten,' *brus* 'Quaste, Büschel, Strauss,' *brüse* 'Büschel; Wachholder,' LG. *brüsen* 'neue Triebe werfen, sich ausbreiten, von Pflanzen,' Norw. *brusk* 'Gebüsch, Büschel,' Als. *brüsich* 'Heidekraut,' NE. *brush*, Lith. *brūžgas* 'Gestrüpp,' MHG. *brüsche* 'Brausche, mit Blut unterlaufene Beule,' ON. *briósk* 'Knorpel,' Steir. *brosch* 'Uterus des Schweines,' *broschet*, -*ig* 'dick, aufgedunsen, von breiter Statur,' Russ. *brúcho* 'Unterlieb, Bauch, Wanst'; LRuss. *brost'* 'Knospe' ('swelling'), *brostáty* *ša* 'knospen,' OS. *brustian* 'Knospen treiben,' MHG. *sich brüsten* 'stolz tun' ('swell up, be puffed up'), Goth. *brusts*, OHG. *brust*, ON. *brióst*, OE. *brēost* 'brest,' 'Brust,' MHG. *briustern* 'anschwellen'; OE. *brord* (Germ. **bruzda-*) 'point; first blade of grass, young plant,' *brydan* 'stimulate,' ON. *broddr* 'point, sword-, spear-point,' Norw. *brodd* 'point; small, green blade of grain; hair, esp. of the reindeer,' *brydda* 'sprout, germinate,' OHG. *brort* 'Vorderteil des Schiffs; Rand eines Dinges,' NHG. Steir. *brort* 'Rand, Ende, Platz, Stelle; Stückschlegel (ein Hammerwerkzeug).'

39. ON., NIcel. *bros* 'smile,' *brosa* *vb.* 'smile' probably come from the meaning 'swell out (the lips)': Norw. dial. *brusa* 'spread out, become bushy; boast,' *brus* 'tuft, bush,' MHG. *briustern* 'anschwellen.' Compare the similar development of meaning in MHG. *briezen* 'anschwellen, Knospen treiben,' NHG. Swab. *protze** 'sich aufblähen, stolz tun,' Steir. *brotze(l)n* 'grosstun, prahlen; widersprechen; schmollen,' Lothr. *prutze** 'die Lippen aufwerfen, schmollen.' For the combination 'pout': 'smile' compare MHG. *smollen* 'schmollen; lächeln.' Cf. No. 38.

40. Icel. *broddr* (**bruzda-*) 'beestings,' 'Biestmilch,' *d-brystur* pl., Swab. *briester* 'Biestmilch,' Als. *briest*, *briesch* 'Art Brei aus der Milch junger Kühle, Grütze und Mehl; Milch einer frischmelkenden Kuh; gestockte junge Milch' may be referred to a base **bhreus-* 'swell, gush out, etc.' This may be identical with the base discussed in No. 38 (cf. Fick, *Wb.* III⁴, 282). Compare Serb. *brúždati* 'stark strömen,' *brížditi* 'weinen,' *bríždžati* 'Milch absondern,' *brížgati* 'ausschwitzen, nässen; Milch absondern,' Russ. *brýzgať*, *brýznut'* 'spritzen, sprühen,'

OSwed. *brūsa* 'einherstürmen,' MHG., MLG. *brūsen* 'brausen,' Du. *bruisen*, MDu. *brūschen* 'schäumen, brausen,' etc.

41. MDu. *bruut* 'Dreck, Auswurf' may be compared with Sorb. *bruda* 'Auswurf,' LRuss. *brud* 'Schmutz,' *brudíty* 'beschmutzen,' WRuss. *brud* 'Schmutz,' *brúdyj* 'dunkelfarben,' apparently from a root **bhreu-*: Russ. *brukáti*, *bruchát'* 'werfen; beschmutzen, besudeln,' Serb. *brúknuti* 'hervorbrechen': Russ. *brujá* 'Strömung,' *brúti* 'stark, reissend strömen, dahinfließen,' Lat. *ferveo*, etc. (cf. No. 40), Gr. φορύνω 'mix up; spoil,' φορύσσω 'mix up; defile,' φορυκτός 'stirred up together, mixed, stained.'

42. MHG. *brouchen, brüchen* 'biegen, formen, bilden,' *gebrouchen* 'biegen, beugen' evidently come from the meaning 'press, press down.' Compare Lith. *brúžyti* 'niederdrücken, drücken, dass Spuren davon sichtbar werden,' *brúžuti* 'mit Geräusch scheuern,' ON. *brauk* 'Lärm, Geräusch,' *brauka* lärm'en,' MHG. *brohseln* 'tosen, lärm'en.'

43. MHG. *bröuwen* 'biegen, drehen' may represent Germ. **braugw-*. If so, compare Lith. *braukiù, -kti* 'etwas mit Anwendung einigen Druckes streichen, scharren,' *braukaū, -kýti* 'mehrach drückend streichen oder streicheln.'

44. OE. *blōma* 'mass of metal' belongs to the Germ. root *blē-, blō-* in OE. *blāwan* 'blow,' MHG. *blæjen* 'bläh'en; im aufgeblasenen Feuer schmelzen und durch Schmelzen bereiten.' So also Lat. *flāre* 'blow; cast or coin metals by blowing.'

45. NE. *blunt* 'thick, obtuse, dull,' OE. *Blunta*, man's name, contain a Germ. base which is also in Swab. *blunze* 'schwerer, fetter Körper: dicker, kurzer Mensch; unförmlich dicke Nase; das Junge im Ei, wenn es im Ausschlüpfen ist; eine Art Blutwurst.'

46. NE. dial. *blash* 'splash liquid or mud about, either by spilling it or treading in it; drink to excess, soak,' sb. 'a splash or dash of liquid or mud; a heavy fall of rain or sleet; liquid, soft mud: weak, trashy stuff; nonsense, foolish talk,' *blashy* 'rainy, wet, gusty; wet, muddy, splashy, sloppy,' Swed. dial. *blask* 'wet weather,' *blaska* 'splash, spirt,' Norw. *blaskra* 'splash; blow softly': Lith. *blázgëti* 'schallen, klappern z. B. von Türen, losen Brettern, wenn sie vom Winde hin und her geworfen werden.'

47. NHG. Bav. *plauschen* (Germ. **blūsk-*) 'schwatzen, plaudern; lügen': Serb. *bljúzgati* 'mit Geräusch strömen; dummes Zeug

schwatzten,' *bljūzgav* 'laut strömend, rauschend; schwatzhaft,' Sloven. *bljūzgati* 'im Kot waten, plätschern,' LRuss. *blúznúty* 'im Strahl hervorschiessen,' root **bhleu-s-* 'gush out': EFris. *blüsen* 'blasen,' MDu. *bluyster* 'Blase,' Hess. *blustern* 'Blasen treiben,' EFris. *blüstern* 'heftig u. mit Geräusch wehen, stürmen, brausen,' NE. *bluster*: Gr. φλέω, φλιώ 'overflow, gush out; babble, chatter,' ChSl. *blúvati* 'speien,' Lith. *bliūju*, *bláuti* 'brüllen, blöken.' Cf. the following.

48. OE. *blyscan*, NE. *blush*, MDu. *bloschen* 'erröten, erglühen': OE. ā-*blysian*, MDu. *blossen* 'erröten,' EFris. *blüsen* 'blasen, wehen, fachen,' *an-blüsēn* 'anblasen, anfachen, brennen u. flammen machen,' OE. *blysa* 'torch, fire.' Probably also to the root **bhleu-* 'swell, gush out,' whence also 'blow, blaze.'

49. Early NHG. *blodern*, *plodern* 'schlagend rauschen,' NHG. Steir. *plodern* ('anschwollen; sprudeln') 'trächtig werden; Blasen werfen; Falten werfen; plaudern,' NHG. *plaudern*: Serb. *blútiti* 'ungereimt, unpassend sprechen': Lith. *bláuti* 'brüllen, blöken,' etc. Cf. No. 47.

50. Swed. dial. *bloslin* 'weakly,' Norw. dial. *blyr* 'a moderating, becoming mild,' *blyr* 'mild, warmish,' *blyrast* 'become mild, warm,' *blýra* 'coward, weakling,' Swab. *blüsche** 'langsam, träge' may be compared with Lith. *ap-blusu, -sti* 'verzagen, traurig werden.' Here may belong Lat. *flustra* 'a calm at sea' (author, *Class. Phil.* VII, 306).

51. ON. *døf* 'rump' evidently meant primarily 'thick, big (end),' and belongs to *dafna* 'stark, tüchtig sein,' NIcel. *dafna* 'thrive.'

With these compare ChSl. *deběl'* 'dick,' Russ. dial. *debjoljj* 'wohlbelebt, stark, fest,' *dobólyj* 'stark, kräftig,' Bulg. *debél* 'dick,' Serb. *děbeo* 'dick, fett, gross,' etc. According to Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 182, these are related to OHG. *taphar* 'gravis, gravidus; schwer, gewichtig,' MHG. *tapfer* 'fest, gedrungen, voll, gewichtig, bedeutend,' later 'tapfer,' ON. *dapr* 'schwer, bedrängt, düster, traurig.' Both connections are possible: root **dhebh-* and **dheb-*.

52. ON. *dubba*, OE. *dubbian* 'dub, knight,' MDu. *dobben, dubben* 'drücken, stossen,' EFris. *dubben* 'stossen, schlagen, paffen, ein lärmendes Geräusch machen,' *dufen, duwen* 'stossen, drücken,' Norw. dial. *dyvja* 'emit a hollow sound, as when one walks in a vault or beats on hollow trees': Sloven. *dupati* 'auf etwas Hohles schlagen

dumpf rauschen,' Serb. *dūpiti* 'mit Getöse schlagen,' Czech *dupati* 'stampfen, trappeln,' etc. (differently explained by Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 238).

53. ON. *dúrr* 'nap, slumber,' *dúra*, Swed. dial. *dúra* 'doze,' Shetl. *dúr* 'lifeless motions,' *dwarm* 'doze,' Swed. dial. *dorma* 'doze, slumber,' Norw. *dorma*, *durma* 'subside; doze,' *dormen* 'dusky, dark (of the air),' *durm* 'haziness,' MHG. *turm* 'Wirbel, Taumel, Schwindel,' *türme(l)n* 'schwindeln, taumeln,' *türmic* 'tobend, ungestüm,' Norw. *dúra* 'poltern, tosen, dröhnen' contain Germ. bases *dür-*, *durm-*, *dwarm-*, with which compare LRuss. *durd* 'Betäubung, Taumel, Narrheit,' *durnyj* 'törlicht, dumm, verrückt, eitel, nichtig,' Serb. *dúriti se* 'aufbrausen,' Sloven. *dír* 'scheu, wild, menschenscheu,' Pol. *dur* 'Betäubung, Bewusstlosigkeit; Typhus,' *durzyć* 'betören, verführen,' OPruss. *dúrai* pl. 'scheu,' Russ. *dur* 'Torheit, Albernheit, Eigensinn,' *durýt'* 'Possen reissen,' *durnoma* 'Schwindel, Übelkeit, Erbrechen,' Lith. *pa-dúrmai* 'mit Ungestüm, stürmisch,' etc. Here also with Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 239, Gr. *θύπος* 'leaping, rushing, raging, eager,' to which may belong MHG. *tore* 'Wahnsinniger, Tor,' *tören* 'toll sein, rasen,' etc. and Lat. *furo*, *furor*. For synonymous words with *l* see Fick III⁴, 215 f.

54. Shetl. *dwarg* 'a hastening, rush; a passing shower,' vb. 'go with haste, rush along, esp. of a shower with wind,' Norw. *dorg* 'rush, haste,' *dyrgja* 'run, rush toward,' Swed. dial. *dårga* 'rush away' (Jakobsen, *Et. Ordbog over det norrøne sprog på Shetland* 130), MHG. *turc* 'schwankende Bewegung, Taumel, Sturz, Umsturz,' *torkeln*, *torgeln*, 'hin u. her schwanken, taumeln,' Germ. base *dwarg-*, *durg-* from *dwar*, *dür-* of the above.

These are from the root **dheu-* 'shake, whirl, rush: blow, puff, whirl, roll, etc.' Hence here belong several words for 'roll, tuft, bunch, bush' and 'big, massive, strong.'

55. MHG. *topfe*, *topf* 'Kreisel, turbo' (**dhubhno-* 'whirl, roll, any round object'), *topf* 'Topf, Hirnschale,' *topfe* 'Tupf, Punkt,' MLG. *dop(pe)* 'Schale, bes. von Eiern, Kapsel, Kelch, Topf; Kreisel; Knopf,' Norw. dial. *dupp* 'Büscher, Wipfel,' MLG. *dovel* 'Zapfen,' MHG. *tübel* 'Klotz, Pflock, Zapfen, Nagel': Gr. *τύφως* 'turbo, whirlwind,' *τύφη* 'a plant used for stuffing bolsters and beds, cat's-tail,' *τύφαι·σφῆνες* Hes. (cf. Fick I⁴, 466).

With *dhābh- compare *tūbh- from *tū- 'swell': Lat. *tuber* 'hump, bump, swelling, tumor, gnarl, mushroom,' OE. *būf* 'tuft; banner,' *būst* 'thicket,' *būsel* 'bush, leafy plant; thicket,' ON. *búsa* 'knoll, mound' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*² 796).

56. Norw. *dodd*, *dott* 'tuft, wisp; little heap; crowd, swarm; lazy person,' *dotta* 'pile in little heaps,' *dytta* 'stop up, make tight; dam up; cram, pack,' OE. *dyttan* 'shut (ears); stop (mouth),' *dott* 'speck, head (of boil),' NE. *dot*, MDu. *duttēn* 'klopfen, tüpfen,' early Du. *dodde* 'Stengel, Stift,' Du. *dot* 'Knäuel, Büschel,' *dodde*, *dotje* 'liebkosende Benennung für ein Kind,' 'Docke,' LG. *dott* 'Eigelb,' EFr. *dotte* 'Haufen, Klumpen, Büschel, Zotte, bz. eine wirre Masse von Dingen,' *dotterig* 'klumpig, knotig, zottig,' OS. *dodro*, OHG. *totoro* 'Dotter,' *tut(t)a*, *tut(t)o* 'Brustwarze, weibl. Brust,' MHG. *tütel* 'Punkt,' NHG. Steir. *tudel* 'kurzes, dickes Weib; Puppe,' Germ. *dud-*, *dutt-* 'tuft, clump, chunk, etc.:' Gr. θύσαρος 'tassel, tag' Skt. dūdhita-ḥ 'dick, steif,' *dudhrá-ḥ* 'steif, störrig,' etc., *dhādh- 'roll, twist together' in NIcel. *dúða* 'swathe,' 'einwindeln,' EFr. *bedudeln* 'einhüllen,' LG. *dudel* 'herabhängender Flitter an Kleidungsstücken,' NE. *duds* 'Lappen, Lumpen,' *dodder* 'shake, tremble,' Gr. θύσσωμαι 'shake,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* XXII, 235). Perhaps here also Lat. *fūsus* 'spindle' (*dhūt-to-s).

57. MHG. *tocke* 'walzenförmiges Stück, Stützholz, Schwungbaum einer Wurfmaschine; Bündel, Büschel; Puppe; Schmeichelwort für ein junges Mädchen,' MLG. *docke* 'Puppe, Figur; Strohbündel zum Dachdecken,' MDu. *docke* 'Puppe; Block; Benennung für allerlei Pflanzen: Huflattich, Seeblume, Klettenkraut, Ampfer,' OE. *docce*, NE. *dock*, plant-name, *dock* 'the stump of a tail,' ON. *dokka*, 'windlass,' Germ. *dukk-* 'roll, whirl: something thick, tufted, bushy': Lith. *dužnas*, *dužas* 'dick, beleibt,' *dhūgh(n)o- 'roll or press together, make big, thick.' Compare the following.

58. Goth. *daug* 'es taugt,' MHG. *tuht* 'Kraft, Gewalt, Tüchtigkeit,' OE. *dyhtig* 'strong,' *dohtig* 'of worth, doughty, vigorous,' *dogian* 'endure,' MDu. *doghen* MLG. *dogen* 'leiden, erdulden,' etc. represent a root *dheugh- 'be big, strong' in Lith. *daug*, 'viel,' Pol. *duży* 'gross, stark,' Russ. *d'úžij* 'gesund, fest, stark, solid,' *d'úžil'* 'aushalten, dulden.' Since the meaning 'big, strong' in these words probably comes from 'roll, press together,' we may compare Skt. *dágdhī* (press) 'milk,' etc. (cf. Schade, *Wb.*² 965 ff.).

59. OHG. *tola, tolo* 'racemus,' *wīn-tola* 'Weintraube,' *toldo* 'Wipfel od. Krone der Pflanzen, Blütenbüschel,' NHG. *Dolde*: Gr. θύλας, θύλλις 'sack,' θύλαξ· προσκεφάλιον, 'pillow,' θύλακος 'bag, sack, pouch,' etc., NIcel. *dula* (flap) 'worn strip of cloth, rag,' and the following, which may, however, come from **dhl-* rather than **dhu-*: NE. *doll* 'Puppe,' Sc. *doll* 'a large lump; dung, esp. of pigeons; a large cake of sawdust mixed with dung, used for fuel,' NE. dial. *dollop* 'a tuft, bunch, or small patch of grass, grain, or weeds; lump, heap; a large piece or quantity,' Norw. *dulla* 'a little round thing or person.'

Similarly from *tū-*: Gr. τύλη 'swelling, lump, pad, cushion,' τύλος 'lump, knob, callus; a wooden bolt,' Skt. *tūlam* 'tuft,' etc.

60. OS. *durd* 'Unkraut,' MLG. *dort* 'Trespe,' MHG. *turd, turt, türd* id., Germ. stem **durp-* or **durpu-* with the primary meaning 'tuft, bunch': Gr. θύρπος (**dhurtuo-s*) 'any light, straight shaft, esp. the stalk of umbelliferous plants, like νάρθηξ; the thyrsus, a wand wreathed with ivy and vine-leaves, with a pine-cone at the top, carried by the devotees of Bacchus,' root *dhuer-, dhūr-* 'whirl, roll; tuft, bunch,' also in Lat. *fūrunculus* 'knob, gnarl on a vine; inflamed swelling, boil,' *ferula* (**dhuer-*) 'νάρθηξ, eine Doldenpflanze mit knotigen, markhaltigen Stengeln,' 'fennel-giant; branch, rod, splint.'

61. ON. *dys* 'aus Steinen aufgeworfener Grabhügel,' 'cairn,' Norw. dial. *dóysa* 'heap up,' *dóys* 'a fat, flabby woman,' *duse* 'tuft, bush,' *dos* 'bush,' *dusk* 'tuft, tassel, bush.' Here perhaps Gr. θύια, θύα (**dhusjā* 'tufted') 'thuya, a kind of juniper or arbor-vitae.'

EFRIS. *düst* 'Haufen, wirre Masse' does not belong here (so FICK III⁴, 216). Cf. No. 62.

62. ON. *bústa* 'eine unförmliche Masse,' Norw. *tusta* 'tuft, bunch, bundle; a low tree with a bushy top,' EFRIS. *düst* 'Klumpen, Haufen, wirre Masse, Wulst, Büschel, Zotte,' OHG. *dosto* 'Doste, wilder Thymian,' MHG. *doste* 'Strauss, Büschel; Doste,' NHG. Bav. *dosten* 'Busch, buschartig sich Ausbreitendes': Skt. *tūṣa-ḥ, -m* 'Zipfel, Franse,' *tūṣa-ḥ* 'Hülse des Getreides,' **tū-s-* 'bunch, tuft, tassel': Skt. *tūlam* 'Rispe, Wedel, Büschel,' Gr. τύλη 'swelling, lump; pad, cushion,' Lat. *tumeo*, etc.

63. OE. *post*, OHG. *dost* 'stercus' are probably related to the above. Primary meaning 'lump.'

64. MHG. *līp* 'Leib, Körper,' MDu. *lijf* id.: ChSl. *libirū* 'gracilis,' Lith. *lāibas* 'schlank,' *lēbas* 'mager,' OS. *lēf* 'schwach, gebrechlich,' OE. *lēf* 'infirm, diseased, ill' (**lēibho-*), NHG. Tirol. *loabelen* (MHG. **leibelen*) 'zögernd, langsam tun,' *loabeler* 'matter, langsamer Mensch,' *loabelet* 'matt, kraftlos' (*MLN.* XXIV, 49, XXVI, 166) is a combination that seems not to have found favor. That it is correct I can now prove.

Germ. **lība*- referred to the soft, fleshy part of the body as distinguished from the bones, pre-Germ. **libho-* or **leibho-* 'giving way, soft, fleshy': Russ. dial. *libivýj* 'schwach,' Czech *libévy* 'mager,' *libový* 'fleischig, ohne Fett,' *libivina* 'mageres, fettloses Fleisch,' Sloven. *libivo*, *libovina* 'Dickfleisch ohne Knochen,' Serb. *libiv* 'fleischig,' *libovina* 'Keule, Schlägel' (cf. Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 716).

Since the primary meaning of **lei-bh-* was probably 'bend, give way, sink' (:Gr. λιγαμαι·τρέπομαι, λιάζομαι 'weiche aus, entweiche, biege ab; sinke, falle,' etc.), we may also compare Serb. *libiti se* (sich ducken) 'schleichen, sich heranschleppen; vitare, evitare, effugere,' *libati* 'wanken; sinken.'

65. OE. *līra* 'fleshy parts of body, flesh,' *līreht* 'brawny,' NE. dial. Sc. *līre* 'flesh or muscles as distinguished from the bones,' MDu. *līre*, *liere* (-ie- either for *ī* or else Germ. ē, pre-Germ. ēi) 'fleshy part of the leg, calf' imply a Germ. adj. **līza-* or **līra* 'falling away: small, weak, soft, fleshy (as opposed to bony), lean, brawny (as opposed to fat).' This adj. is perhaps also in EFris. *līr-lütje* 'winzig klein,' Du. *lier-lauw* 'lau, flau.'

If the *r* in these words is from *z*, compare OE. *lēssa* 'less' (Goth. **laiziza*), *lēs* adv. 'less,' *lēst*, *lēsest*, *lērest* 'least, smallest,' OS. *lēs* adv. 'weniger': Lith. *lēsas* 'mager,' *lýsti* 'mager werden,' Lett. *lēss* 'mager, hager,' *lēsa gāta* 'mageres Fleisch, auch bloss im Gegensatze zum Fette, das derbe Fleisch.' This is almost the exact equivalent of OE. *līra*. Here also belong OE. *gelīsian* 'slip, glide,' MHG. *līse* 'leise, sanft,' etc.

Possible though less probable is the connection of OE. *līra* with Gr. λειρός ὁ ισχυός καὶ ὀχρός.

66. Goth. *spaurdz* 'Rennbahn,' OE. *spyrd* 'stadium, (foot) race-course; furlong,' OHG. *spurt* 'stadium' are compared by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*² 137, with Skt. *spfḍh-* 'Kampf,' *spárdhalē* 'wetteifert, streitet.'

The primary idea was probably 'stretched out,' and so we may compare Skt. *sphārā-h* 'ausgedehnt,' *sphāyatē* 'wird feist,' OHG. *spuat* 'Gelingen, glücklicher Fortgang; Schnelligkeit, Beschleunigung,' OE. *spēd* 'success,' NE. *speed*, *speedway*, Lat. *spatium* 'space; course, race, track'; Gr. Arg. *σπάδιον* 'race-course, stadium' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*² 429).

67. OE. *spearwa* 'calf of the leg' is supposed to be identical with *spearwa*, Goth. *sparwa* 'sparrow.' Inasmuch as the calf of the leg is thought of and described as the thick or bulging part, this connection is improbable. Compare rather Gr. *σφαῖρα* 'ball, globe,' *σφυρόν* 'ankle,' *σφῦρα* 'hammer,' *σφυρός*, *σπίραθος* 'round dung, as that of sheep and goats,' ON. *sparð* 'sheep's dropping,' Lith. *spirā* 'Schafmist,' OPruss. *sperclan* 'Zehenballen,' *sparts* 'stark.'

These words are commonly referred to Skt. *sphuráti* 'stösst mit dem Fusse weg, tritt, zuckt, zappelt,' Lat. *sperno*, etc. They go better, since they all indicate 'something round, bulging, swollen,' with Skt. *sphirá-h* 'feist,' *sphārā-h* 'ausgedehnt, reich, gross,' *sphāyatē* 'wird feist, nimmt zu,' etc.

68. Goth. *-waddjus* 'Mauer,' ON. *veggr* 'Wand' are properly referred to the IE. root **wei-* 'wind, braid, plait' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*² 835, with references). Compare, from the same root, Lett. *wija* 'ein von Strauch geflochtener Zaun.'

69. OE. *wāg* 'wall,' OFris. *wāch* 'Wand,' OS. *wēg* 'Mauer,' MDu. *wēch*, *weech* 'Wand, Mauer,' *wēgen* 'die Wände wiederherstellen' represent a pre-Germ. **weičkō-* 'anything plaited, wicker-work, fence, enclosure, Geflecht, Zaun, Wand, Gehege,' which may be referred to Lat. *vincio* 'bind,' Skt. *padvičam*, *-vīčam* 'Schlinge, Fessel, Strick' (cf. *MLN.* XVIII, 16; *Class. Phil.* VII, 334).

To the same base belong Skt. *vēčā-h* 'house' (**weičkō-s*=OE. *wāg*), Gr. *oīkos* 'house, dwelling, temple, household, family,' Lat. *vīcus* 'village, street,' Goth. *weihs* gen. *weihsis* 'village,' etc.

For meaning compare the following: OHG. *zūn* 'Zaun,' OE. *tūn* 'enclosure round house, yard, garden; manor, farm; dwelling; village.'—Goth. *gaīrdan* 'gürten,' Lith. *žardis* 'Hürde,' OPruss. *sardis* 'Zaun,' OS. *gard* 'Umzäunung, Wohnung,' Goth. *gards* 'Haus, Familie.'

70. Goth. *weihs* 'heilig,' OS., OHG. *wīh*, etc., together with OS. *wīh* 'Heiligtum, Tempel,' OE. *wīg*, *wēoh* 'idol,' etc. may likewise be

compared with No. 69. The primary meaning would accordingly be 'enclosed, protected,' an 'enclosed, protected space.' For meaning compare OE. *ealgian* 'defend,' *ealh* 'temple,' Goth. *ahs*, etc.; Gr. *σηκός* 'a pen, fold; any dwelling; any enclosure; sacred enclosure, shrine.'

71. OE. *wīgol* 'belonging to divination,' *wīglian* 'practice divination,' *wicca* 'wizard,' *wicce* 'witch,' LG. *wicke* 'witch,' MDu. *wijchelen* 'practice divination,' etc. are referred by Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 142, to Goth. *weihs* 'holy.' A more probable connection is with OHG. *wiaga*, MHG. *wiege*, *wige* 'Wiege,' *wigen* 'wiegen,' *weigen* 'schwanken,' Swiss *weiggen*, *waicken* 'wackelnd bewegen,' Norw. dial. *veiga* 'swing, sway,' MHG. *wigelen*, MDu. *wigelen*, *wiegelen* 'wanken,' NE. *wiggle*, EFr. *wiggeln* '(sich) hin und her bewegen, schwingen, schaukeln,' *wiggen* 'wiegen, schwingen, hin und her bewegen, schaukeln, gaukeln,' etc., with which compare Lett. *wīkt* 'geschmeidig werden, sich biegen,' Lith. *veikus* 'schnell, flink,' etc.

For the meaning compare MHG. *gugen* 'schwanken,' *gogeln* 'sich ausgelassen geberden, hin und her flattern,' *goufern* 'umherschweifen,' *gougel*, *goukel* 'Zauberei, zauberisches Blendwerk,' *gougeln*, *goukeln* 'Zauberei, Gaukelpassen oder Taschenspielerei treiben.' Similarly Gr. *μάντρις* 'diviner, prophet' belongs to *μανία* 'madness, frenzy,' *μαίνομαι* 'rage, be furious'; and Lat. *vātes* 'prophet, seer' to Goth. *wōðs* 'wütend, besessen.'

72. ON. *veig* 'berauschendes Getränk; Trinkbecher' meant primarily not 'strength, strong, drink,' but 'fluid, liquid,' as is shown by Norw. *veigja* 'Flüssigkeit, Saft,' OE. *wēge*, OS. *wēgi* 'Becher,' OHG. *bah-weiga* 'lanx, discus,' NHG. Steir. *weike* 'Trog, in dem die zur Mälzung vorbereitete Gerste mit Wasser begossen wird,' *weiken* 'etwas in Flüssigkeit legen, um es dadurch weich oder leichter biegar zu machen; refl. ein Wannenbad nehmen,' Swiss *weiggelin* 'runde hölzerne Schüssel.'

Compare with these Skt. *vīci-h*, *vīci* 'Welle, Woge,' MHG. *weigen* 'schwanken,' *weigec* 'schwankend, wackelnd,' *wiegen* 'wiegen,' etc. Cf. No. 71.

73. ON. *hófr* 'hoof,' OE. OS. *hōf*, OHG. *huof* 'Huf' : Skt. *çaphá-h* 'Huf, Klaue,' Av. *safō* (Fick I⁴, 42, 206, 420) are semantically unexplained. The primary meaning was perhaps projecting point:

peg, pin, plug; claw, hoof.' Compare Skt. *çaphara-h* 'eine Karpfenart,' Lith. *szāpalas* 'Döbel, ein Fisch' (cf. Uhlenbeck *Ai. Wb.* 302), and for meaning NHG. *Döbel* 'Pflock, Zapfen : dickkopfiger Weißfisch' (Weigand^b, I, 363).

That 'projecting point' was the primary meaning is made probable by the parallel formation: Skt. *çákhā* 'Ast, Zweig,' NPers. *śāx* 'Zweig, Ast; Horn, Geweih,' Lith. *szakà* 'Ast, Zweig,' O Bulg. *sqkū* id., Skt. *çankú-h* 'spitzer Pflock, Holznagel, Stecken, Pfahl,' etc. (cf. Horn *Np. Et.* 169; Uhlenbeck *Ai. Wb.* 301, 307).

These may be referred to the root *kō-i-* 'sharp; sharpen' in Skt. *çicāti*, *çyāti* 'schärft, wetzt,' Gr. *kōvōs* 'cone, peak,' Lat. *cōs*, *-is* 'hard stone, flint, whetstone,' *catus* 'keen, shrewd,' etc.

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THE BATTLE OF FRAGA AND LARCHAMP IN ORDERIC VITAL

In the introduction to his edition of the *Prise de Cordres et de Seville*, O. Densusianu calls attention to the resemblance between Orderic Vital's account of the battle of Fraga (1134) and the epic tradition of Larchamp.¹ In his opinion Orderic would have adapted the Larchamp story to the facts of Fraga. On the other hand, in a note on Densusianu's statement, Professor Raymond Weeks would have Orderic modify the real battle by the incidents of the epic legend.² Either conclusion may well be correct, but before we consider the point as definitely settled a more detailed analysis of Orderic's description might be worth while.

This description, whether by accident or design, is not reproduced in its entirety by Densusianu. Indeed Orderic himself inserts into it a paragraph on the death of Robert of Normandy. But it must be read as a unit in order to be fully understood.

Alphonso of Aragon was besieging Fraga. Its inhabitants asked aid from Africa. It came, but before joining battle its commander sent word to Alphonso to raise the siege. Then, Orderic says, "rex sanctas sibi de capella sua reliquias deferri praecepit," and on these relics the king swore he would do so only in case the city surrendered, or he was killed, or put to flight. Twenty barons swore with him. He then summoned his friends and neighbors (Orderic is not particularly consistent in his account), fell back on a nearby hill, and withstood the repeated attacks of the Arabs during three days and three nights. Finally Robert of Tarragona, with other allies, appeared, charged the exhausted infidels, and drove them in headlong rout.

But in this transitory life no mortal fortune endures. The Moslems of Fraga and the Christian renegades harbored there, fearing Alphonso's vengeance and the valor of his brave soldiers, "marked with the cross of Christ" (*Christi cruce signatos*), offered

¹ Edition of the "Société des anciens textes français," pp. xvi-xviii.

² *Modern Philology*, II, 234, n. 1.

peace and submission. In his obstinacy the king rejected all proposals, and vowed he would take the city by storm. In their despair the citizens sent again to Africa and to some of the pagan rulers of Spain.

This time the African prince came with a large army, and the emirs of Cordova, Dalmaria, and the cities of the coast. In five divisions they advanced. Two hundred camels, laden with supplies, formed the first, in order to tempt an attack from the booty-loving Christians. The other four remained concealed, to catch the pursuing enemy unawares.

At Fraga two rivers come together, the Segre and the Ebro (in reality the Cinca). On the plain between them the battle was fought ("in Campo Dolenti inter haec flumina pugnatum est"). Learning of the enemy's approach, Alphonso urged his leaders to be valiant. When the division of camels appeared he ordered Bertran of Carrion to charge it. Bertran suggested caution and strategy. Alphonso intimated cowardice, at which Bertran rushed forward, the train turned in flight, the countless supports came up and slaughtered the pursuers by the thousands. Alphonso, however, taking his stand on a hill, proposed to fight till death ("ad mortem usque pro Christo configere proposuit"). But the bishop of Urgel objected that should he fall the whole region would be possessed by the Pagans, and ordered him to escape. Choosing the weakest point in the hostile line, the king opened a way through with sixty knights—sixty reduced to barely ten when he finally cut his way out. And among the slain lay the bishop.

The joy of the Pagans was great. It was also untimely, for Alphonso is met on his flight to Saragossa by reinforcements of Aragonese and French. Calling on God to grant him one last vengeance before his death, he leads these fresh troops by devious ways to the shore, surprises the Arabs in the act of loading their vessels with spoil and prisoners, and crushes them. One boat was freighted with the heads of Christians, proofs of victory for the king of Africa. Another carried seven hundred prisoners and much treasure.

The heads recovered were consigned to the church for burial. The seven hundred prisoners, hearing the noise of the conflict, threw

off their chains, leaped ashore, seized the weapons of the fallen, and aided in the carnage. Thus was the joy of the infidels changed into mourning ("et Christiana cohors in cunctis operibus suis Deum benedixit"). Shortly afterward Alphonso fell ill and died.¹

The legendary character of part of this description of the Fraga campaign is quite evident. So too is the religious bias of the author. Both excite pardonable suspicion of the accuracy of any section of the story. But before weighing romance against history on the basis of Orderic's narrative alone, it is advisable to compare his pages with the statements of another record of the same events, where there is not the least question of romancing.

The *Cronica de Alfonso VII* (-1147) dates but a few years after Orderic's *Historia*. It was written in Spain, not far from Fraga. It had the incidents of that great defeat fresh in mind. It, too, shows a strong partisan coloring, but it is a bias due to patriotism and not religion, and it works steadily against Alphonso, not for him. For all the king's mischance is attributed to his sins against the neighboring Christian kingdom of Leon.

In company with several bishops, among whom was Donao of Jaca, and numbering among his soldiers French knights and other allies, the *Cronica* tells us, Alphonso was besieging Fraga. The Arab ruler of Valencia and Murcia, Abengama by name, marched to its relief. In two battles he was driven from the field (*de campo*), leaving rich spoil for the victors.

With him, on this campaign, Alphonso carried a richly decorated shrine (*area*), which contained a piece of the true cross. This shrine he had stolen from a monastery of Leon. He also had with him relics of the Virgin and various saints. All these sacred objects were kept in a tent, which the king used as a chapel, and which was pitched close by the royal tent. A large body of clergy watched over them. Now the people of Fraga, after Abengama had fled, offered to surrender. But Alphonso, as a punishment for his sins against Leon and Castille, answered that he intended to storm the town, kill its nobles, and make prisoners of their wives and children. And this answer he confirmed by a royal oath on his relics.

¹ *Historia ecclesiastica*, XIII, c. 8, 10 (edition of the "Société de l'Histoire de France," V, 16-23).

But Abengama had rallied another army, from Africa, Cordova, Seville, Granada, Valencia, and all Spain, knights, footmen, archers, "countless thousands." This fact, however, became known to Alphonso only at the hour when his sentinels espied the advancing host. He gave orders at once to defend the camp. But his forces had been weakened by the departure of many Aragonese nobles and other soldiers to collect supplies. The camp was surrounded, nor could the prayers of the clergy avail because of the king's sins. Unable to defend the camp the Christians drew out into the plain (*in campum*), whereupon an ambushed division of the Pagans stormed the camp, seized the shrines, and carried off many clergy and members of the royal household. But Danao, bishop of Jaca, remained on the field together with many nobles, French knights, and all the leading men of Aragon. Seven hundred foot soldiers, who formed the king's bodyguard, fell in one place. Finally Alphonso escaped to Saragossa with ten followers. He then took refuge in a monastery of his kingdom, and died in a few days of heart disease. The bishop of Lescar was carried to Valencia, put to the torture on account of his faith, and finally ransomed.¹

If we compare this account of the campaign around Fraga with Orderic's, we are quickly convinced that both writers are telling the same story. Their general statements agree and so do curious details, which would seem surely legendary were the version of the *Historia* our only guide. Among these details are the three separate fights—two Moslem defeats and a final victory in the *Cronica*, a defeat, a victory, and a defeat in Orderic—the relics and the oath sworn on them, mysterious in Orderic (who, however, retains enough of his original to say that the relics were fetched *de sua capella*), plain in the *Cronica*, the escape of Alphonso with ten comrades, and the death of a bishop in battle. Even the rhetorical *in Campo Dolenti*, twice used in the *Historia*, may echo the source of *de campo, in campum* of the monk of Leon. And when Orderic tells us that the number of Christian captives on one ship was seven hundred, is he not influenced by the report which made seven hundred soldiers of Alphonso's bodyguard die in one place, as given in the *Cronica*? Of the two records the *Historia* is the earlier—about 1141, at the latest,

¹ *Espana Sagrada*, XXI, 339-42.

to about 1147, as the earliest for the *Cronica*. Therefore a common source seems quite plainly indicated.

How Orderic got his knowledge of Fraga, from manuscript or by word of mouth, is not so easily determined. The intimate correspondences noted above would point toward a written source. This source he would have worked over under the influence of epic romance. Or if his information reached him orally, he would have worked over what he had heard also. For only under the assumption of a revision of his first draft can Orderic's insertion of the death of the Norman duke into the midst of the Fraga campaign be explained. The death occurred while the campaign was in progress. A revision then would be what we have in the actual text of the *Historia*, and it is this revision, and not the original story, which first received the epic flavoring. Orderic had conceived quite another idea of Alphonso and his purpose from the one held by the monk of Leon. To the author of the *Cronica*, the king of Aragon was the enterprising ruler of a rival kingdom, whose sword had been quite as dangerous to Christians as it might be to infidels. His army was an aggregation of hardy freebooters. To Orderic, however, remote from the jealousies and interneccine feuds of Christian Spain, Alphonso was nothing less than a worthy soldier of the Cross. His followers, subjects or foreigners, were genuine Crusaders—*Christi cruce signatos*, in his own words. And this conception, firmly implanted in Orderic's mind and profiting by the memories of other combats between believers and unbelievers which it found there, was the leaven, we believe, which leavened the entire record of the *Historia*.

Two especial models of legendary wars between Christians and Pagans offered themselves to Orderic at the time of his final revision of the Fraga campaign. The one, which does not receive direct mention anywhere in his work, was the *Chanson de Roland*. The other, to which he refers at least twice elsewhere, was the story of Larchamp. Now Oderic's Fraga, we think, was constructed after the pattern of the *Roland*, though it incorporated into its narrative, beyond a doubt, important sections of Larchamp. For Orderic divides his account of the struggle around Fraga into three distinct battles: a Christian victory, a Christian defeat, a Christian revenge. This division, we recall, is the division made by *Roland*, and in the

same order. At Larchamp, if we follow the *Chanson de Guillaume*, three Christian defeats preceded the Christian triumph. In the *Cronica*, presumably accurate from the point of view of history, two Christian victories—tersely told—were more than counterbalanced by the final rout.¹

In harmonizing his division of the Fraga battles with the facts as he must have known them, Orderic shows unsuspected skill. The two defeats of the Moslems, in the *Cronica*, are fused into one long struggle of three days and three nights, in the *Historia*. Orderic's second battle and the annihilation of Alphonso's army, together with the escape of its leader, parallels, even in its accessories, the record of the *Cronica*. The cause of the defeat, Alphonso's oath on relics, his *demesure*, to borrow an epic term, is stressed in both narratives. In the pagan ambush which storms the Christian camp in the *Cronica* we see the original of the ambush which overwhelmed Alphonso's men, when they rushed to spoil the division of camels. And here also may be a beginning of epic, the *demesure* of the oath suggesting to Orderic the *demesure* of the taunt of cowardice flung by the king at Bertran's wise caution.

Perhaps in this second battle of Orderic there is a direct reminiscence of a detail of *Roland*. We do not mean the death of a bishop on the field. A bishop had perished in the *Cronica* also. Still this likeness to *Roland* may have occurred to Orderic, as it does to us, and opened the way for a direct citation. Alphonso, we remember, when ordered to escape by the bishop (an incident of the *Historia* which is not mentioned by the *Cronica*), charged at the head of sixty men, of whom only ten survived the onset. Ten fugitives from Fraga figure in the *Cronica*. That number, therefore, may be regarded as historical. But whence the idea of the sixty who made the attempt? May we not suppose that at this moment, aroused by the striking resemblance between history and epic, there was running through Orderic's mind the familiar lines:

Tuit sunt ocis cist Franceis chevalier,
Ne mais seisante que Deus ad espargniez.²

¹ The Christian victory in *Roland* comes after a prolonged contest in which Marsilles' army is driven from the field; cf. *Roland*, ll. 1910–13.

² *Roland*, ll. 1688, 1689. Earlier in the *Historia*, another line of *Roland*, "Male cancun n'en deit estre cantée" (l. 1466), seems to be paraphrased in Orderic's "Ne turpis cantilena de vobis cantetur in orbe" (*Historia*, XI, c. 26 [edition cited, IV, 255]). See *Modern Language Notes*, XXVIII (November, 1913), 205, n.6.

But the *Roland*'s influence on Orderic's Fraga should not be exaggerated at the expense of Larchamp. It may indeed be indebted to *Roland* for its general plan, and for this particular number of sixty. To Larchamp it surely owes the whole third battle, and one or two of the incidents which accompany the other two. For instance, the first battle is said to last three days and three nights. Where did Orderic get this precise notion of the battle's length, unless from William's resistance to the Pagans from early on Monday until Thursday before prime?¹ Alphonso's vow, which provoked the fight, would have suggested Vivien's, and have thus led up to this loan from the epic. Again would not the battlefield of the second encounter, the *campus* of the *Cronica*, be qualified as "Campus Dolens" because of the Larchamp disaster? Certainly Alphonso's dearly bought escape with but ten comrades must have reminded Orderic of William's lonely flight. And in these correspondences between history and legend, so constantly recurring, would there not lie the genesis of the impulse which made Orderic pattern the Christian revenge, the culmination of his tragedy, on the victory won at last by the Christian champion at Larchamp? For with this victory Orderic cuts loose from all ties of fact, to give vent to his great longing to celebrate the triumph of the Cross. With history he also sacrifices topography. He crosses with a bound river and mountain, and, assembling his hostile forces once more on the shore, pictures the utter ruin of the Pagans after the manner of a *Guillaume* or an *Aliscans* —not, however, without a lingering trace of the real Fraga perhaps. Seven hundred is the number of Christian prisoners who leap from the ship to join in the fray. Seven hundred was the number of the king's bodyguard that the *Cronica* tells us fell in one place. Is it history or legend which is guiding Orderic's pen? Or is the coincidence merely accidental?² But the boatload of Christian heads is neither authenticated by history nor furnished, to my knowledge, by legend, although it possesses a genuine epic flavor.

And so Orderic dramatizes an event which in its own actual episodes was already highly dramatic. He has availed himself of the resources of history and legend to construct, according to the desire

¹ *Chanson de Guillaume*, ll. 1119–22.

² We should also cite the passage of *Guillaume* (l. 3023), where Rainouart kills seven hundred Pagans in one boat.

of his own heart, the story of the conflict of Crusader and infidel. That conflict absorbed in his day the engrossing interest of the civilized world, an interest which excuses Orderic for his mingling fiction with fact. Yet had we no other record of Alphonso's campaign than the narrative of Orderic's *Historia*, or were the illuminating pages of the *Cronica* written in France of Philip Augustus rather than in Spain by a contemporaneous chronicler, how could we determine, in Orderic's account, what was fact and what was fiction? Without this veracious guide, how should we know that the oath which occasioned the Campus Dolens disaster was not as legendary as the story of Alphonso's revenge, that the bishop who ordered the flight of the king and who, like Turpin, fell on the field, was not a character of fiction, quite as much as the seven hundred who broke their chains to share in the final triumph? Alphonso escaped with ten companions. Who could have thought this statement at all allied with fact? The figure sixty is found in *Roland* and not in the *Cronica*. Is this negative evidence enough to warrant our assumption that Orderic got that number from *Roland* and not from his source? For the latter gave him the seven hundred, which he reserved for another and poetic use. Was the taunt which provoked Bertran's fatal charge on the camel train an invention? And why should a battle which lasted three days and three nights belong to the realm of romance rather than to the annals of history?

An answer to each or all of these queries brings a lesson home to all lovers of epic poetry. For in the light of these concrete examples, furnished by the two accounts of the Fraga campaign, the vital relation of epic legend to historical fact stands revealed. And we realize that the epic poetry of mediaeval France reflects, by no means unfaithfully, the history of mediaeval France, history not in its general trend alone but, even where we are least suspicious of it, history in its minor details.

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THE ROMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

The early history of Romanic speech was divided into three periods, characterized by the treatment of stressed vowels other than *a*. In the first period there were only slight differences of quality between the long and the short sounds of *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. Sardic reflects this primitive condition. In the second period the palatal vowels developed greater qualitative differences, dependent on quantity; from this basis are derived Rumanian *ie*<*e*, *e*<*ɛ*, *e*<*i*, *i*<*ɪ*, beside *o*<*ɔ*, *o*<*ə*, *u*<*ʊ*, *u*<*ū*. In the third period the velar vowels underwent changes parallel with the second-period development of palatal vowels: thus Italian generally treats *ɔ* and *ʊ* alike.

It is commonly but wrongly held that Italian and western Romanic represent the third-period vowel-system alone. They show many traces of earlier conditions, and their history cannot be understood if we ignore this fact. The evidence of Sardic and Rumanian is not isolated: in the other languages palatal-influence often formed close *i* directly from *ɪ*, and close *u* directly from *ʊ*. Close *e* and close *o* were not subject to such influence in western Romanic, so that we usually have a means of testing the formation of *i* and *u*. In order to explain the consonant-developments involved, a few special symbols must be used: η = English final *ng*; \tilde{n} as in Spanish; ϱ = Bohemian *d'*; κ = Bohemian *t'*; λ = Portuguese *lh*; δ = English voiced *th*.

PORtUGUESE EVIDENCE

In Portuguese, as in the other western Romanic tongues, we must distinguish between palatal-influence and harmonic change. The law of harmony, with regard to stressed vowels, is this: in the third period, after the general change of *ʊ* to *o*, palatal vowels became *i* and velar vowels became *u*, if they were followed by (but not in contact with) close *i* or close *u*. The vowel *a* was neutral, neither palatal nor velar, and was therefore free from harmonic influence. Stressless hiatus-*i* and hiatus-*u* regularly became close, without regard to the original quality. Examples are *fiz*<*fēi*, *vendima*<**vendimia*

<*uindēmia*, *cubro*<**cubrio*<**cōprio* (for *cooperio*); *pude*<*pudi*<**podi*<**poudi*<*potū*, besides *pōde*<**poudet*<*potuit*, with contraction of *ou* to close *o* before *au* became *ou*. From *tibio*<**tebio*<**tebeo*<**tebeðo*<*tepidu* it is clear that the harmonic principle was active at a rather late time, after the loss of *ð* between vowels. We may therefore assume **dovio*<*dubiu*, **rovio*<*rubeu* (or *rubidu*), **vedrio*<*uitreu*, **veðuau*<*uidua*, parallel with *gota*<*gutta*, *verde*<*uiride*. Afterward, when *u* was developed in **cubrio* and *i* in **vendimia*, similar changes took place in **dovio*>**duvio* (whence *dvidar* instead of **dovedar*<*dubitare*), **rovio*>**ruvio*>*ruivo*, **vedrio*>**vidrio*>*vidro*, **veðua*>**viðua*>*viuða*>*viuva*.

The foregoing theory of *i*<*e*<*i* and *u*<*o*<*u* is helped out by various words that have kept *e* or *o*. In *atrevo*<*attribuo*, *coso*<*consuo*, *poço*<*puleu*, *vezo*<*uitiu*, the hiatus-vowels were lost too early to affect the stressed vowels. In *nédio*<*nitidu*, the influence of *neto*<*nitidu* seems to have protected the *e*; Galician has normal *nidio*. If *lenga-lenga*, "long speech," is connected with *língua*<**lengua*<*lingua*, its *e* can be explained by an early loss of *u*. The *e* of *équa*<*equa* may be due to normal *e* in a lost **ego*<*equu*. In *dei*<*dedi*, *agoiro*<*auguriu*, *goiva*<*gubia*, *marroio*<*marrubiu*, *e* and *o* were kept because they were in contact with *i* before the principle of harmony was active. Such words show the need of distinguishing contact-change from harmonic change. By contact the palatals made open vowels close, but left close *e* and close *o* unmodified. By harmonic influence, after open *i* and open *u* were lost, close *i* was developed from close *e* (representing *ae*, *ɛ*, *ɨ*, *i*), and close *u* from close *o* (representing *ø*, *ð*, *ü*). Harmony could cause double changes, from open *e* and *o* through close *e* and *o* to *i* and *u*, whereas palatal-influence caused only single vowel-changes.

In the first period of Portuguese, *ŋg* became *ñg* before a palatal vowel; by assimilation *ŋl* was changed to *ñλ*, and *ny* to *ññ*. These *ñ*-formations produced *i*<*ɿ* and *u*<*ɿ*. Examples are *cinge*<*cingil*, *tinge*<*tingit*, *junge*<*iungit*, *cilha*<*cin(gu)la*, *tinha*<*tinea*, *cunha*<**cunea*. In *cilha*<**kiñla*<**kiŋla*, the nasal was assimilated as in Italian *porre*<*pōnere*. The normal development of *ŋgl* was through *ñgλ* (in the second period) to *ññ*, but by an early dissimilation, before *k* became an affricate, **kiŋglə* changed to **kiñla*. Similar elimina-

tions are seen in *boi* for **bove*<*boue*, *falar* for **favlar*<*fābulāre*, *proa*<*prōra*.

The *o* of *cegonha*<*cicōnia* shows that *u* in *cunha* was developed directly from *ü*, not by way of *o*. The apparently discordant *testemunho* is an early book-word, with *-unho*<*-*unio*<-*onio* corresponding to *ruivo*<**ruvio*<**rovio*. In *cegonha* and *vergonha*<*uerecundia* (a later development explained below), weak *i* did not affect the stressed vowels; evidently it was lost before **rovio* became **ruvio*. The sound *ñ* was formed in *cegonha* at the same time as in *tinha* and *cunha*. Therefore these two words lost weak *i* before the harmonic law was active, and their close vowels must be considered contact-developments. Thus the formation of *tinha*<*tinea* was direct, and entirely different from that of *vidro*<**vedrio*<*uitreu*.

In the first period *g* changed to *g* before a palatal vowel. In the second period, after close *i* was established in the derivatives of *cingil* and *tinea*, and after open *i* had become close *e*, the nasal-group *ŋn* (*gn* in Latin spelling) was changed to *ññ* by assimilation, likewise *ŋl* to *ñgλ* (whence later *ññ* and *ñ*); intervocalic *g* and *gy* became *y* or *yy*. Before these palatals *ü* made close *u*, as before *ñ* in the first period; but *í* made *e* in accord with *e*<*ē* under the same conditions. Examples are *lenho*<*lignu*, *senha*<*signa*, *punho*<*pugnu*, *cenho*<*cingulu*, *senhos*<*singulos*, *unha*<*ungula*, *correia*<*corrīgia*, *dedo*<*digitu*, *fuja*<*fugiat*. The *o* of *foge*, for **fuge* or **fui*<*fugit* (compare *rei*<*rēge*), is presumably analogic, like open *o* in *cōrre* beside normal close *o* in *cōrra*<*currat*.

We must assign to the third period palatal-developments that accompany *o*<*u*. In cases differing from those already mentioned, we find a late formation of *ñ*, which left close *e* and close *o* unchanged: *vence*<**veñket*<*uincit*, *onça*<**oñkya*<*uncia*, *troncho*<**troñkλo*<*trunculu*, *conha*<*calumnia*, *vergonha*<*uerecundia*. From *cinge* beside *vence* and *unha* beside *troncho*, it is clear that *k*<*k* was later than *g*<*g* under similar conditions. The other words lost *i* before the harmonic law was active. The group *mñ* kept *m* until after *gutta* became *gota* (or **gotta*); then *m* was assimilated, in accord with *sono*<*somnu*. Another development was dissimilative, like *alma*<*anima*: *mñ* changed to *my*, after **rovio* had become **ruvio*, giving the variant *coomia*<*coima*.

¹ *Revista Iusitana*, III, 265.

SPANISH EVIDENCE

Spanish and Portuguese seem to have shared the harmonic law at first; compare Span. *hice*, *vendimia*, *cubro*, *pude*, *tibio*, *dudar*, *rubio*, *vidrio*, *viuda*. But its action was weaker in Spanish, which has *lengua* and *recio* beside Port. *língua* and *rijo* < **rezio* < **ricidu* (*rigidu* modified by *flaccidu*). These *e*-forms corroborate the theory of *i* < *e* < *i* explained above; so too does *vebda*, a variant of *viuda*. Evidently *viuda* corresponds to Port. *viúva*, with *ð* kept as in *nido* beside Port. *ninho* < **nio* < *nídu*; the other form represents **vebva*, with *v* added as in Italian *vedova*. Apparently *dí* is a contraction of *diey*, which has been preserved dialectally,¹ and which shows that vowel-harmony was a late development, not active until after the fracturing of *e*. We may assume *u* < *o* < *u* in *gubia* and *marrubio*; on account of the Portuguese forms, it is not likely that the Spanish words are bookish. *Agüero* stands for earlier **agoiro* = Port. *agiro*, and *yequa* corresponds to Port. *équa*.

The Portuguese first-period formations of *i* and *u* agree with *ciñe*, *tiñe*, *uñe*, *cija*, *tiña*, *cuña*. The word *uñe* can be explained in two ways: **guñge* may have become **uñge* by dissimilation, in accord with **kinqla* < **kingla*, *proa* < *próra*, or the initial consonant may have been mistaken for the derivative of *illī* found in *gelo* < **gelo* < *illī illu*.

The evidence furnished by Port. *cegonha* and *vergonha* is valid for the Spanish equivalents, as *cigüeña* and *vergüeña* have replaced older forms ending in *-*oiña* < *-*oña* with close *o*. The idea of assuming *õ* beside *ö* in *cicōnia*, as some writers have done, is not only groundless but useless: the ending -*onia*, found in various geographic names, made Span. *-*oña*, the *o* becoming close on account of palatal-contact. Close *o* changed to *oi* before *ñ*, and *oi* became *ue* as in *agüero*. Thus early Spanish has *Catalueña*² = Catalan *Catalunya*; the Catalan *u* (< *uo*) requires a primitive open *o*, in accordance with *ull* < **uołλo* < *oculu* beside *genoll* < **genuculu*.

Vowels of the second period are seen in *leño*, *seña*, *puño*, *ceño*, *senños*, *uña*, *correa*, *dedo*, *huya*, *huye*, and those of the third period in *vence*, *onza*, *troncho*, *caloña*, **vergoña* < **vergoiña* < *vergüeña*. The

¹ Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática histórica española*, Madrid, 1905, p. 222.

² Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

group *mñ* lost *m* too late for *o* to become *oi*. The developments of *fugiat* and *uerecundia* show that *qy*<*gy* was formed earlier than *qy*<*dy*.

FRENCH EVIDENCE

The formation of *ñ* was comparatively late in French, so that we find third-period vowels in *ceindre*, *joindre*, *teigne*, *coin*, *poin*, as in *veintre*, *once*, *chalonge*, *vergogne*. But the second-period Spanish vowels followed by *y* agree with French *corrie*, *deit*, *fuie*, *fuit*.

French has *-oir*< **-oiro* (=Port.-*oiro*)<*-ɔriu*, but *eür*<*augüriu* against Port. *agoiro*. This shows that Portuguese had **agurio* in the second period, and formed *agoiro*< **agorio* in the third, whereas the French displacement occurred in the second (or first) period and caused open *u* to become close by palatal-influence. The diphthong then contracted to a simple vowel, before the development of a similar diphthong in *cuir*<*coriu*.

It is customary to call *puiz*<*puteu* irregular, because it seems to disagree with *croiz*<*cruce*. The reason for the difference is to be found in the history of the palatals: *k* had to travel a long distance to reach palatalized *dz* (or *ts* as a final), while *ty* produced this affricate after undergoing only a slight change. Thus *puiz*, instead of being irregular, proves that for French, as for the other Romanic tongues, we must admit a sound-system earlier than the "vulgar" one that confused *ü* with *ö*. *Croiz* shows a third-period development, like *once*; *puiz* is earlier, just as Span. *puño* is earlier than *onça*.

PROVENÇAL EVIDENCE

The dialects of southern France generally have vowels corresponding in chronology to those of the north; a notable case is *aür*<*augüriu*. But we also find variants that indicate an approach to the speech of Italy or Spain. Thus in addition to *jonher*, *conh*, and *ponh*, with third-period vowels as in *vergonha*, there are the forms *junher*, *cunh*, and *punh*, implying earlier *ñ*. Likewise *det* has the variant *dit*<*digitu*, with an earlier formation of *y*, so that *u* in the derivatives of *fugit* may represent the second period for some regions and the first for others.

ITALIAN EVIDENCE

The western Romanic tongues share the principle of vowel-harmony: Port. *fiz*, Span. *hice*, French *fis*, Catalan *fiu* (< **fv*< **fd*< **fidz*)< **fidzi*< *fēct*. French *vendenge* and Catalan *venema* are not really exceptions; they show that harmony was a late development, and that in these languages **vendemia* lost *i* at an early time. But Italian lacks harmonic change: *fecī*, *nocqui*, *vendemmia*, *venti*. We may therefore expect to find other peculiar features in Italian. One of these is the closing effect of η : *lingua*<*lingua*, *tinca*<*tinca*, but *tronco*<*truncu*. The date of η -influence is dependent on the history of *g*.

Simple *y* was developed earlier than *yy*: thus we find a first-period *i*<*ȳ* in *dito*<*digitu*, but second-period vowels in *correggia*, *fuggia* (whence by analogy *fugga*). The doubling in *fugge* seems to be normal, as in *gregge*<*grege*, *legge*<*lēge*, *legge*<*legit*; apparently *re* comes from *rēx*, not from *rēge*. That is, in the first period *digilu*, *fugit*, *grege*, *lēge*, and *legit* formed *ȳ*<*ȳ*<*g*, while *corrigia* and *fugiat* had *ȳy*<*gy*; in the second period *yy* replaced *ȳy* and the intervocalic *y* of paroxytones. Thus the *u* of *fugge* may be considered a first-period development, historically different from that of *fuggia*.

A first-period formation of *ȳ* explains the vowels of *cinge* (*cigne*), *giunge* (*giugne*), *tigna*; the discordant *cogno* seems to be borrowed from some dialect that has *giongere* (a form mentioned by Petròchchi) for *giungere*. Vowels of the second period are seen in *legno*, *segno*, *pugno*, and those of the third period in *oncia*, *calogna*, *vergogna*. The difference between *vince* and *oncia* is parallel with that between *tinca* and *tronco*. In the second period the derivative of *lignu* developed *e* and changed *ȳn* to *ȳȳ*, while the derivatives of *tinca* and *uincit* had *e* and *ȳk*; the *ȳk* of **ven̄ket* is attested by *oncia*<*uncia*, which (on account of the second period *u* in *pugno*) must have been **oȳkyā* until the third period. In the second period **teȳka* changed to *tiȳka*, and **veȳket* to **viȳket*, repeating a development found in Latin.¹ In the third period **oȳkyā* and **viȳket* were formed; thus the *i* of *vince* is historically different from that of *cinge*. We cannot assume *ȳ*-influence in **viȳket*, for *e* is kept in *legno*. And we cannot assume an indirect *i*<*e* (with a second-period *ȳg*) in *cinge*, for the

¹ Stoltz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München, 1910, p. 40.

early alteration of *digitu* requires a first-period development of $\bar{\eta}g < \eta g$ in *cingt*. This chronologic difference in the treatment of *k* and *g* agrees with the distinction made in Portuguese (and in Spanish), as stated above; Port. *cinge:tenca:vence* = Span. *ciñe:tenca:vence* = Ital. *cinge:tinca:vince*. The apparent disagreement is due to a secondary formation of *i* < *e* before *η* in Italian, unknown in the West.

It is not clear whether *i* < *ɪ* was a direct development in *ciglia* < *cilia*. If *Corniglia* < *Cornēlia* is Tuscan, the *i* of *ciglia* could have been an indirect development. But *Corniglia* may be borrowed from one of the southern dialects in which every *ē* makes *i*. In either case *ciglia* (=Span. *ceja*) might be a direct first-period formation, like *dito* beside Span. *dedo*.

GENERAL EVIDENCE

In the first period, stressed hiatus-*i* became close; likewise stressed hiatus-*u* before a non-labial vowel. These facts, which are commonly admitted, and the foregoing evidence, which is usually ignored or misinterpreted, show that the Romanic vowels are in general based on those of classic Latin.

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THE MOONCALF

No creature has had more undeserved greatness thrust upon it than had a poor misshapen calf born at Freiberg in Saxony on December 8, 1522. Its hind legs were straight like a man's; one foreleg was curled close to its body and the other extended in front of it. Its skin hung in loose wrinkles and what particularly distinguished it was a large fold over the head and shoulders resembling a monk's cowl. So remarkable a monster must certainly portend something awful; its fame spread with incredible rapidity. Almost instantly an artist was secured to take its picture, though, to judge by the result, in doing so he forgot to ask it to "look pleasant." The likeness, together with a note of the time of its birth, was sent forthwith to the best local expert on monsters, an astrologer living at Prague. This gentleman in his professional capacity doubtless had one eye fixed on the heavenly bodies, but the other was cocked on a body of quite a different nature, the Inquisition, which was particularly strong and vigilant in Bohemia. After casting the creature's horoscope, and after due consideration of the conjunction (near Prague) of the bodies heavenly and infernal, the learned scientist discovered that the monster did indeed signify something terrible, indeed the most awful thing possible—Martin Luther. This important addition to human knowledge was communicated to the world in a broadside published in less than a month after the calf's birth, dedicated to Margrave George of Brandenburg. Strange to say, that nobleman was not as pleased as he should have been to have his name appear in connection with those of the astrologer, the abortion, and the heretic, for on January 5, 1523, he wrote Luther a long and labored letter protesting that he had been ignorant of the intentions of the stargazer and disapproved of his zeal. Whether he also apologized to the calf, history does not relate. He called the astrologer a fool.

The Margrave's ungracious attitude was not shared in most Catholic circles, where the glad tidings of the pointed and personal rebuke thus delicately administered by heaven to Martin Luther

were received as the highest possible vindication of the noble science of astrology. The brochure of the savant of Prague was appropriately phrased in technical language incomprehensible to the ordinary layman, but like all great messages it was soon taken up and popularized. Among the several literateurs who undertook this task, the most eminent was perhaps Rev. John Dobneck, commonly called Cochlaeus, who with incredible rapidity published two works on the subject, one in Latin, *Against the Cowled Minotaur of Wittenberg*, and one in German, *A Christian Warning of the City of Rome to Germany*. His *haute vulgarisation* sometimes became very vulgar indeed. Coming from a man who had seen Luther only two years previously his personal assurance that in appearance the "half-monkish calf" closely resembled the heretic is worth much.

Luther's enemies were at no pains to conceal their conclusions from him; rather they felt it their duty to call his attention to the crushing snub he had received from the higher powers. Among his many admirable qualities that of treating attacks with silent contempt was conspicuous by its absence. One day a student at Wittenberg, Lemnius by name, published a set of indecent and cutting verses lampooning his teacher. Such ebullitions of youthful spirits are not unknown nowadays, but we should hardly expect a leading professor of Harvard or Oxford to retaliate in the way chosen by the theologian of Saxony. Not content with expelling Lemnius, as he very well deserved, Luther wrote a counter set of satiric verses against him, in which the candid reader must recognize that the scurrility of the original offender was well over-trumped.

So in the present case Luther was not to be outdone. If interpreting monsters was the rage, he would give the very best interpretation—from the polemic standpoint—possible. In the previous year his attention had been arrested by a description of a truly horrific creature said to have been found in the Tiber in 1496. Monsters were apparently as common then in the flesh as they are now in art, and perhaps they fulfilled much the same function of stimulating a jaded curiosity. In this case, the animal was a bit extreme, perhaps of the post-impressionist or cubist variety; it had an ass's head, a woman's body, an elephant's foot, a fish's fin, a dragon's head in place of a tail—this face probably had a *stern* expression—and

other attractions to match. In the good old times it was as plain as day to the meanest intellect—and unfortunately to some others—that such a nondescript must be a portent of divine wrath. Luther and Melanchthon accordingly held a consultation over these two creatures, and did not take long in discovering that they were unmistakable warnings sent by heaven to the Catholics, practical satires, as it were, published by the Creator against his particular enemies, the pope and the monks. Why not? They were precisely in the taste of most sixteenth-century polemics. Being interpreted they were, in short, the “pope-ass” and the “monk-calf.” The first of these words was built on the analogy of the second, which was, in turn, a pun of the kind Luther loved, on the earlier German word “mooncalf.” *Mondkalb* was already in good usage to signify a false conception, or a mass of dead flesh, which Pliny calls *mola*. Prior to Luther’s time it had not been used in the sense of monster, but only in the technical anatomical way. The German Reformer was not free from the besetting sin of many great writers in letting the sound not only echo the sense but predetermine it, and under his powerful pen the term *Mönchskalb*, already half suggested by Cochlaeus, sprang into the literary language of the Fatherland.

In order to present their views to the public, the Wittenberg professors collaborated in a work published with all possible speed under the title: *Deutung der zwo gewlichen Figuren, Bapstesels zu Rom und Munchkalbs zu freyberg jn Meyssen funden. Philippus Melanchthon. Doct. Martinus Luther. Wittenberg. M.D. xxij.* Melanchthon took the first monster and set forth with great lucidity the opinion that the ass’s head signified the mental capacity of the popes, the woman’s body their sensuality, the elephant’s foot their tyranny, and so on. Luther’s interpretation of the second creature is more to our present purpose. The Reformer, having sometimes been called by his followers a prophet, begins by denying the soft impeachment, but says that though he cannot foretell the future with certainty he hopes that the calf is a presage of the day of judgment. At any rate it is plain that by this animal God has symbolized the nature of the monks, just as in Dan. 8:21 he represented Alexander the Great by a he-goat. “That God has put the clerical dress and the holy cowl on a calf is an undoubted and plain sign that the whole of monkery and

nunnery is nothing else than a false, lying appearance and an outward pretense of a spiritual and godly life." Furthermore, the wrinkles and divisions of the skin point to the division of the monks into various orders; the posture of the forelegs suggests the attitude of a preacher, a blind leader of the blind. All the supposed vices of the monastic life, but particularly hypocrisy, are traced in the malformation of this creature. The author closes with the most sensible remark in the whole essay, namely, that he does not ground his rejection of monastic vows on such signs, clear warnings as they are, but only on the Bible.

This little pamphlet of eight pages enjoyed much popularity. It was reprinted seven times in the same year. In an edition of 1535 Luther wrote a postscript which he called an "Amen," underscoring the invective of Melanchthon. In 1545 he returned to the same idea in a polemic against the Papacy. The original work did not go long without an answer, this time by the learned divine Jerome Emser, who in a pamphlet published in 1524 asserted: "Although the contumacious monk [Luther] well knows that the said calf signifies nothing but himself and his followers the apostate clergy, yet in his farce published at the last carnival he tries to interpret it against the other good and pious monks."

In about a generation the monk-calf attained an international reputation, marked by the translation into French of the essays of the Wittenberg professors, under the title: *De Deux monstres prodigieux, à savoir, D'un Asne-Pape, qui fut trouué à Rome en la riuiere du Tibre, l'an M. CCCC.XCVI, et D'un Veau-moine nay a Friberg en Misne, l'an M.D.XXVIII [sic]. Qui sont vrais presages de l'ire de Dieu: attestez & declarez, l'un par P. Melanchthon, & l'autre par M. Luther. Avec Quelques exemples des iugemens de Dieu en la morte espouvantable, & desespoir de plusieurs, pour auoir abandonné la vérité de l'Evangile. Chez Jean Crespin. M.D.LVII.* The translator, whoever he was, succumbed to the temptation to improve upon the original, for he retouched the Ass-pope drastically and the Monk-calf lightly. As the printer, Jean Crespin, was a capable writer, apparently familiar with German, it is possible that he made the version himself. His press was at Geneva, devoted chiefly to publishing the works of his friend John Calvin. In October, 1557, Crespin was buying books at

the Frankfort fair, and it is possible that he got the German work then, though it is also quite likely that he or the translator got it elsewhere earlier. It is perhaps allowable to see in the political situation of the Calvinists a stimulus to the translation of the work at this time. Not only were Protestants being burned in England, France, and large parts of Germany, but the strained relations of the Lutherans and Calvinists rendered their position doubly precarious. In 1557 they were almost at swords' points; it was feared at Geneva that the Lutherans would unite with the Catholics, as they had done once before, to crush the more radical branch of the Reformed church. Calvin was so exasperated that he called his fellow-Protestants "ministers of Satan" and "professed enemies of Christ." It is quite possible then, indeed quite probable, that the French version of the pamphlet in question may have been intended to widen the breach between Catholics and Lutherans. Without positive information on this subject, however, this can remain only a conjecture.

From France the two monsters made their way into England, a confirmation in detail of the general fact established by Sir Sidney Lee that in the sixteenth century England was more open to French than to German literary influences. The title of the version runs as follows: *Of two Wonderful Popish Monsters, to wyt, Of a Popish Asse which was found in Rome in the riuier Tyber (1496) and of a Moonkish Calfe, calued at Friberge in Misnie (1528). Which are the very shewings and tokens of God's wrath against the blind, obstinate and monstrous Papists. Witnessed and declared, the one by P. Melanchthon, the other by M. Luther. Translated out of French into English by John Brooke of Assh. London. Th. East. 1579.* John Brooke, of Ash-next-Sandwich, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, chiefly known for his translations of six French tracts between 1577 and his death in 1582. East was a well-known printer, probably a scion of the Italian house of Este, who made a specialty of music, though he also published other things.

Thus introduced to the British public, the "moonkish calfe" seems to have had a greater success than has hitherto been recognized. There are the best of reasons for believing that this little tract gave a new meaning, and thus a new lease of life, to the word "mooncalf,"

which had previously been used only in an anatomical or pathological sense, but now began to signify "monster," and, derivatively, "fool." Thus in Cooper's Latin *Thesaurus* (1565), "moonecalfe" is given as the translation of the Latin word *mola* (literally "mole"), a growth of dead flesh. Similar instances of this use might be cited, but according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an extremely reliable guide in these matters, no example of the word in the sense of "monster" can be found in any author earlier than Shakespeare. I do not think that Shakespeare borrowed the word directly from the pamphlet; the great dramatist did not care for "the spleeny Lutherans," as he called them, and probably read as little of them as possible. My contention is that the word in the new sense was *mis à la mode* by the tract, and that, after having attained popular currency, it was taken from the mouths of the people into formal literature about a generation after the translation of the Lutheran pamphlet. Consider the data. "Mooncalf" is unknown in the signification of "monster" and is rare in any sense prior to the first years of the seventeenth century. Then, all of a sudden, in Shakespeare, Jonson, Drayton, Chapman, and others it becomes almost common. Something must have occurred to produce this change. The springs of language lie deep, but its laws are as exact as are any other natural laws. It is the universally observed rule that words come into popular use before they are taken into literature. The noun we are considering must have come into general currency in the last part of the sixteenth century. To those familiar with the appetite for the marvelous displayed by Englishmen at this time, and also with the great success that popular religious tracts then often attained, there is nothing paradoxical in the contention that the tract in question actually gave rise to the linguistic phenomenon here described. Note the spelling of the word, "moonkish calf," probably an intentional alteration of the normal "monkish." Thus what had been a pun with Luther in German was just reversed in English, and for the same reason, to play upon an already existing, though hitherto rare and technical, word.

Examples will reinforce the argument better than anything else could do. First of all in *The Tempest* (1610) Caliban is repeatedly called a "mooncalf" (Act II, Scene ii). The *Variorum* refers to Pliny, but how anyone can read the passages indicated and suppose

that Shakespeare really had Pliny in mind, or anything derivable from this author, passes my comprehension. Pliny's *mola* was, as we have seen, translated by "mooncalf," but the word had so totally alien a sense that reference to this source is not the solution of a riddle but the propounding of one. Again Chapman, in his *Bussy d'Amboise* (1607), speaks ungallantly of women as "the most perfect images of the Moone (Or still-unweand sweet Mooncalves with white faces)." This is of course an intentional pun, but the use of the word in a popular way is none the less significant. By 1620 even Jonson's learned sock did not disdain to employ a term apparently by that time thoroughly established. In his *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, the following dialogue takes place between a Factor, a Printer, and two Heralds:

FACTOR: Are there no self-lovers there?

SECOND HERALD: I think some two or three of them live yet, but they are turned to mooncalves by this.

PRINTER: O, ay, mooncalves! What monster is that I pray you?

SECOND HERALD: Monster! none at all, a very familiar thing, like our fool here on earth.

FIRST HERALD: The ladies there play with them instead of little dogs.

In similar fashion Michael Drayton wrote a whole poem on "The Moone-Calfe," first published in his collection of verses, called after the first of them, *The Battle of Agincourt* (1627). This is a rank satire of the conventional stamp. The mooncalf is a bastard son of the Devil and the World, an ignorant sot and roué, but one who, nevertheless, gets on famously, and finds himself as prosperous as he ought to be detested:

Rags, running horses, dogs, drabs, drinks and dice,
The only things that he doth hold in price.

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to trace the further use of the word, as might easily be done, from Dryden to Carlyle, with whom, as might be expected, so outlandish a term was a prime favorite. It may not be uninteresting, however, to add that Luther's pamphlet was once again anglicized, as: *Interpretation of two horrible monsters, an ass-pope, and a calf-monk. Translated by the Reverend H. Cole, London. Eedes. 1823.*

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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSQUR NORÐRLANDA

[Continued]

II. THE HERVARAR SAGA

1. *The Manuscripts.*—The only MSS of value for the text of this saga are the following: (1) AM 544 4to perg., from the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Hauksbók* = *H*); (2) Gl. kgl. sml. 2845 4to perg. of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, from the fifteenth century (= *R*); (3) AM 281 4to pap., from the close of the seventeenth century (= *h¹*); (4) AM 597b 4to pap., from the latter half of the seventeenth century (= *h²*); (5) AM 203 fol. pap., from the seventeenth century (= *b*); (6) Salanska saml. 80 8vo papp. of the University Library in Upsala, from the middle of the seventeenth century (= *u*). Besides these there are a great number of paper MSS of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose complete worthlessness has only recently been demonstrated, many of which will have to be mentioned in the course of our investigation.

That *H* and *R* represent two mutually independent versions of the saga was recognized by Bugge,¹ who published a good edition of these two MSS.² Unfortunately both MSS are defective, *H* in its present condition concluding shortly after the second riddle (Bugge, p. 236), while *R* contains all the riddles and a portion of the following, but also lacks a considerable part of the saga's conclusion. Now various paper MSS contain a satisfactory conclusion of the saga. The question how these paper MSS are related to each other and to the two parchments has never been satisfactorily answered.

That *h¹* and *h²*, which contain only the riddle-episode, i.e., lack the beginning as well as the end of the saga, are derived from *H* at a time when this MS extended at least as far as the end of the riddles was assumed by Bugge. In this he was undoubtedly right, so far as one can conclude from his edition (this selection is preceded and followed in both *h¹* and *h²* by other matter from *H*), though an interpolation of additional riddles in a copy of *H* used for *h¹* and *h²* is of course not absolutely inconceivable. For the conclusion of the saga also Bugge (pp. 268 ff) was inclined to believe that the paper MSS

¹ In fact still earlier by Rafn, *Fas.*, I, p. xxviii, 1829.

² *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*, 203 ff., 1873.

which he used went back to *H*, but in support of this opinion neither he nor anyone subsequently has brought forward any valid evidence. Bugge was not at all clear about the relationship of these paper MSS to each other, the weak point of his edition and since then the most urgent problem connected with the study of this saga. This problem has since been attacked by Heinzel¹ and by Heusler and Ranisch.² In spite of both these considerable contributions to a solution of the problem a thoroughgoing study and comparison of all the paper MSS of the saga was still desirable, as Heusler and Ranisch acknowledged (pp. iv f.). This difficult piece of work has been accomplished with painstaking thoroughness by a Russian investigator, Professor I. Sharovolski. The results of his investigations are accessible in the introduction of a new edition of the saga published at the University Press in Kiev.³ The main result is the definitive proof that the MSS *i* (AM 192 fol. pap.), *k* (AM 202*k* fol. pap.), *l* (AM 582 4to pap.), *a* (AM 345 4to pap.) used by Bugge, as well as all the other paper MSS containing the conclusion of the saga with the exception of *u*,⁴ go back to *b* and are accordingly worthless. For the details I must refer to Sharovolski's work, where ample tables and lists of variants illustrate the sound method of research pursued. I have further tested the manuscript-material and convinced myself of the unassailable correctness of Sharovolski's conclusions (except those pertaining to *s*) on this point.

Sharovolski also recognized that *b* originated as a compilation from three different MSS and determined the character of each of these three.⁵ The method of procedure of the writer of *b* (Jón Erlendsson) can as a matter of fact be followed word for word. The value of *b* is so enhanced by Sharovolski's discoveries that all points bearing upon its history become important. Besides the *Hervarar* saga it contains the *Gautreks* saga, the *Hrólfs* saga *Gautrekssonar*, the *Dórsteins Pátrr bœjarmagns*, the *Egils* saga *einhenda*, and the *Illuga* saga *Grfðarfóstra*, all from Jón Erlendsson's hand. Jón Erlendsson lived in Iceland 1632–72, was remarkably active as a copyist of Old

¹ "Über die *Hervarar* saga," *Sitz. ber. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, CXIV, 417 ff., 1887.

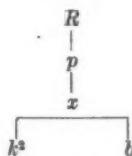
² *Eddica minora*, pp. vii ff., 1903.

³ *Skazanie o meči Tyrfingi* (*Tale of the Sword Tyrfing*). I. Šarovolskago, Kiev, 1906.

⁴ Sharovolski wrongly excepts also *s* (Holm. papp. fol. 120 of the Royal Library in Stockholm).

⁵ Cf. his table, p. lxxii.

Icelandic MSS, and is generally regarded as a good scribe.¹ In writing *b* he had three MSS of the *Hervarar saga* before him: the parchment *H*, a (not direct) copy of *R*, and a third MS, presumably a paper one, closely related to *u*. That he used the parchment *H* itself is clear, not only from the very exact reproduction of its text, but also through marginal glosses in his own hand which attest its use.² This parchment he did not, however, make the basis of his compilation, but used instead his paper MS of the R-class. That he did not use *R* itself is clear not only through variations from *R* and the interpolation of Björn Jónsson's commentary on the riddles, but more especially through the fact that an intermediate member is attested by a MS, Holm. papp. 4to 15 (=p) of the Royal Library in Stockholm, with which *b* has common mistakes plus additional new ones. This Stockholm MS agrees in extent of text and in the gap resulting from the loss of a leaf in *R* exactly with *R* itself, but lacks Björn Jónsson's commentary. That this commentary was contained already in the original of *b* is demonstrable through the second defective copy of the *Hervarar saga* in AM 202k fol. (=k²), where it is also present without its writer having contaminated the R-version with any other. Sharovolski illustrates the relationship of these MSS thus:



This agrees essentially with my own results except that I find unimportant variations in *p* compared with *k²* and *b* and further conditions in the last two MSS which suggest the following emendation:



¹ Cf. F. Jónsson in Salmonsens's *Konservationsleksikon* and in *Hauksbók*, p. lxx.

² Cf. F. Jónsson in *Hauksbók*, p. vii.

However, as this is of no importance for the text I shall not develop it further. Björn Jónsson died in 1655; the close of his commentary bears the date: "14 Juny Anno 1641." *P* and *k²* are defective, i.e., they extend no farther than *R*, and where a leaf was lacking in this MS they have merely left a gap. Jón Erlendsson left a corresponding gap in *b*, then oddly enough the gap was filled in later in an unknown hand. The filling is obviously from *H*. The writer who inserted this has also left glosses on the margins of the preceding pages: corrections from *H* and also two additional strophes from *H*.¹ Besides these there are two other kinds of glosses: those already mentioned of Jón Erlendsson himself, giving in a few places divergent readings taken from *H*, not as corrections, but only as variants, and finally from page 110^r on a few scattered glosses in the hand of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (†1675), which prove to be entirely arbitrary emendations. In this way some of the variants in the paper MSS used by Bugge receive their explanation, for in *i* (written also by Jón Erlendsson) the glosses, except those originating with Jón Erlendsson himself, were taken into the text, while the writers of the other copies proceeded differently, none of them for example including the emendations of Brynjólfur Sveinsson.²

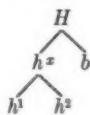
That the paper MSS in question represent a compilation of the *H*- and *R*-versions of the saga has really long been known; about the third MS used by the writer of *b* Sharovolski is the first to give us any information. This third MS belonged to a third version of the saga, the *U*-version. If the conclusion of the saga in *b* did not in itself demonstrate the use of a third MS, such use is amply attested by the fact that Jón Erlendsson began to copy this MS as the basis of his text. Before the beginning of the present text in *b* there is a short portion of the beginning of the saga entitled *Hervarar þattur hinn gamli*, which has also been copied in various MSS. If one compare this with the beginning of the other two versions, it is immediately apparent that in content and word it is entirely different from *R*, agrees somewhat more closely with *H*, but quite closely with *u*, i.e., its variations from *u* are at most such as represent mistakes or slight changes of copyists on the one side or the other, while those

¹ This hand appears only on pp. 93^r, 94^{r-v}, 95^r.

² Jón Erlendsson, as is well known, did much copying for Bishop Brynjólfur.

from *R* and *H* are of the sort indicating independent or at least considerably revised version. The concluding part of *b* agrees in the same way with *u*; not, however, the other parts, where its agreement with *R* or *H* is attended by great variation from *u*. That is to say, Jón Erlendsson began to copy a MS of the U-class, but after a short introductory portion left it and made a new beginning with new title and *x* (or *x³*) as his original. *H* extended at that time to the conclusion of the riddles (and death of Heiðrek), but no farther. After this point Jón Erlendsson followed *x* (or *x³*) entirely as far as it went, in fact not quite to the end of *R*, then he continued from his MS of the U-class with which he had originally started. Most of the facts outlined above are elaborated by Sharovolski, though I have included nothing not confirmed by my own observations.

Of the three versions of the Hervarar saga recognized the R-redaction is critically represented by *R* alone, in which one leaf and the conclusion of the saga are irretrievably lost. The *H*-version is similarly represented by *H* alone, as far as it goes; for the remaining riddles the text must be constituted from *h¹* and *h²* with the help of occasional readings from *b*. *H¹* and *h²* do not go back directly to *H*, but to a copy of it, as Sharovolski has clearly proven.¹ The three MSS are then to be used according to the relationship:



Sharovolski has again raised the question whether *H* ever extended farther than to the end of the riddles and has, as I believe, answered it wrongly. On this point I would first refer to Jónsson's discussion in the introduction to the *Hauksbók* (p. xi). According to him a sheet of 8 leaves is probably lost, upon which were written the conclusion of the Hervarar saga and the beginning of the Fóstbroðra saga. Jónsson reckons that the lost beginning of the latter saga may have filled 6 leaves, the conclusion of the former the other 2. With that everything would be accounted for, the Hervarar saga concluding then in this MS after the riddles with the statement of Heiðrek's

¹ I, pp. xi-xiv.

death. So far as the conclusion of the Hervarar saga is concerned, Heinzel had already in another way arrived at the same result.¹ This view has also been accepted by Mogk.² Now Sharovolski contends (pp. xv–xviii) that about $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the 8 lost leaves are not accounted for in this way. When he asserts that the lacking conclusion of the Hervarar saga (according to Heinzel, i.e., up to Heiðrek's death) would have filled only $1\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 2 leaves, he appears to be right. But how much of the beginning of the Fóstbreðra saga is lost cannot be reckoned with the same degree of exactness, as the H-version of this saga is too independent of the others preserved. We do not even know with certainty whether the lost sheet consisted of 8 leaves, whether all its pages were written upon, or in fact whether more than one sheet may not have been lost and even something else have intervened between the two sagas.³ Under these circumstances such reckoning can lead to no positive results, though it is of course worthy of all consideration. In fact Sharovolski cannot find place for the whole conclusion of the Hervarar saga in this way, but conjectures that *H* contained the death of Heiðrekr and the battle of the Goths with the Huns, but not the genealogical list of the descendants of Angantýr. There is, however, no valid reason for this separation of parts, certainly no proof whatever that it was represented in any MS. There is, on the other hand, much that argues for the contrary conclusion, viz., that *H* never extended farther than *h¹* and *h²* now do: (1) the probability emphasized by Jónsson that only so much of the saga in *H* is lost; (2) the title occurring in *H*: *Heiðreks saga ens vitra*, which accords with the fact that the *Hauksbók*-version also otherwise lays its emphasis on Heiðrekr and the riddle-contest, as is shown by the facts that: (a) this version contains more riddles than the other two; (b) it has arranged the riddles according to a more definite scheme; (c) it has passed briefly over a whole episode of the first part of the saga (in which Heiðrekr played no rôle) with a reference to the Qrvar-Odds saga. Sharovolski's attitude on this point is apparently determined by his conception of the secondary relation of the U-version of the saga to

¹ *Ueber die Hervarar saga*, 418 f., 1887.

² Paul's *Grundriß*, II², 839, 1904.

³ For the condition of the rest of the *Hauksbók* in these respects cf. Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, pp. ix ff.

the other two, the point which remains to be considered, upon which I cannot agree with him and upon which I have laid the main emphasis of my own studies.

As Sharovolski conceives of the U-version of the saga it is represented in its entirety by *u*, in parts by *b* and furthermore by *s*. Now *s* is a specimen of the *editio princeps* of the Hervarar saga (edited by Olof Verelius, Upsalæ, 1672) with marginal emendations written in by Guðmundur Ólafsson.¹ The view championed by Gödel² that these variants originated from a now lost parchment MS goes back to a note (in *s*) of G. E. Klemming,³ but is by no means confirmed by the internal evidence of the MS itself. Sharovolski had evidently not seen the *Eddica minora* of Heusler and Ranisch, whose editors had placed an entirely correct estimate upon *s* and were on the point of recognizing the independent position of *u*.⁴ They had clearly enough established the fact that the marginal emendations in *s* came for the most part, if not exclusively, from a MS of the b-class. Sharovolski, by the way, noted the same fact, but was misled by it into taking *s* and *u* together as representatives of a version contaminated from *R* and *H*, a relationship which could apply at most to *s*, but not at all, as we shall show, to *u*. That the variants in *s* cannot possibly have come from a MS of the same version as that of the text they are intended to supplement, i.e., of the U-version, is clear enough from the nature of the variants themselves, for they often form plus-passages of considerable extent or differ otherwise in such ways as only different versions can, the last part of the saga where *H* and *R* have left no representatives being of course exceptional in this particular. There is no evidence whatever that Guðmundur Ólafsson was in any way concerned about producing a more original text, but on the other hand, considerable that he was seeking to supplement the text of the Verelius edition.⁵ What changes he has made (other than additions) were apparently dictated by the desire to produce a text showing at least a fair degree of consistency. The additions had accordingly to be so adapted at beginning and end that they

¹ Translator vid Antikvitetskollegiet i Stockholm, 1681–95.

² *Fornnorsk-isl. lit. i Sverige*, 166; *Katalog*, 252.

³ Librarian in the Royal Library in Stockholm till 1890.

⁴ Cf. their table, p. viii.

⁵ An interesting light is cast upon his method of work by the first edition of the Vilkina saga; cf. Bertelsen, *þiðriks saga af Bern*, pp. lvii f., 1911.

fitted. Otherwise these glosses (*s*) show everywhere the mistakes of *b* and everywhere the same relation to *R* or *H* as *b*, so that there is no justification of the slightest doubt that Guðmundur used a MS belonging to the *b*-class. The proof of this fact offered by Heusler and Ranisch¹ rests entirely upon the stanzas devoted to the battle of the Goths and the Huns. These occur in the concluding part of the saga, i.e., that lacking in both *H* and (except the first few stanzas) *R* and accordingly originating in all MSS from the U-version. The nature of *s* is shown much more clearly by a comparison of passages from other parts of the saga with *u* (or even with Verelius' edition of the saga), at the same time taking into consideration *b* and its copies. The good tables of Sharovolski are admirably adapted to make clear this relationship. For example his Table I (pp. liv ff.) gives (Nos. 5-97) common variants of the *b*-group of paper MSS from *b*'s chief source, *R* (these variants go back in part to *H*, but are in part copyists' mistakes or alterations taken over from *x*, as already noted). In the following cases where Verelius does not agree with *b*, *s* has the reading of *b* inserted on the margin: Nos. 8, 10, 16, 21, 26, 27, 28, 31 (the reading of *s* shows here a further corruption of that of *b*), 49, 51, 53, 55, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 85, 95 (with further change), 97. From Sharovolski's Table V (pp. lxii f.) this source can be still more closely determined. In the latter table are given common variants (Nos. 1-31) of *k¹*, *l*, AM 359^b 4to pap. and *a* from *b* and *i* (the first four go back to a somewhat elaborated version of *b*). Here the following cases bear witness to the insertion of readings from this secondary group of the *b*-version on the margin of *s*: Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 19, 23, 24, 25. The result of this test agrees then exactly with the conclusion of Heusler and Ranisch, that *s* is to be referred not only to the *b*-group of paper MSS, but also definitively to the subgroup represented by *k¹* and *l*. To illustrate the matter clearly I add a comparison of the different readings of the first riddle and the answer to it, where the relationship is shown so clearly as to render further comment superfluous (see table on p. 85).

The relationship so clearly illustrated in the table is apparent throughout the saga and the glosses of *s* are thereby divested of any

Cf. *Eddica minora*, p. ix, and the table, p. viii.

value. Of course the possibility of some of the glosses having come from other sources is not excluded by the recognition of this fact, as Guðmundur Ólafsson might have drawn upon various sources of information, but I can find no indication that such was the case. Hardest to explain is the one case that is responsible for the over-valuation of *s.* Peringskiöld cited in his edition of the *Vita Theodorici* of Cochlaeus (Stockholm, 1699, p. 352) a passage from a parchment MS of the Hervarar saga in the Stockholm "Antikvitetsarkiv,"

<i>R</i> (Sharov., p. 50)	<i>H</i> (Sharov., p. 19)	<i>b</i> (Variants Compared with <i>R</i>)	Verelius, p. 143	*
Hafa uilldag þat i gíær hafda; uittu, huat þat uar:	Hafa ek þat villda er ek hafða i gíær; konvngr, gettv hvæt þat var:	<i>mundag</i>	Hafa vil eg i* dag þad i gíær†; viter‡ huad þad var?	<i>mundak</i> for <i>vil</i> <i>eg</i> <i>haþak</i> after <i>gíær</i> <i>vittu</i> for <i>viter</i>
lyda lemill, orda tefill ok orda upphe- fill.	lyða lemill ok orða tefill ok orða vpphefill.	<i>semill</i>	lyda levill¶|| oe orða tefill oe orða upp- hefill.	<i>semill</i> for <i>levill</i> oe crossed out
færi honum mungat; þat lemr margra uit, ok	fai hanvrm mungat, þat lemr margra manna	<i>semr</i> <i>margra</i> <i>manna</i> <i>vit</i>	Færir|| honum mungat: pui—** margra vit; oe	<i>þad semur</i> for —
margin eru þa margmalgari, er mungat ferr aa, eN sumum uefzt tungaN suo, at ecki uerdr at ordi.	vit: svmir verða marg- mæltir par af, en svvmv vefz tvngv bragð.	<i>mælgare</i>	marger mæla þa mart: enn sumer suefast i mali.	eru þa mal- gare, er mun- gat færir a for mæla þa mart
	<i>tungu</i> (<i>suo</i> lacking)††			sumum uefst tunga, ad ecke werdur ad orde for sumer suefast i mali

* The *i* is lacking in the MS *u.*

† The MS *u* has *haðag* after *giær.*

‡ In *u* reads *vittu.*

¶ For *lemill* in *u.*

|| For *færi* in *u.*

** The word omitted is in *u* very difficult to make out; it looks like *lemt*, but was very likely intended for *lemr.*

†† Of these seven variants in *b* Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 are found also in *k²*, i.e., Jón Erlendsson took them from *x(x²)*. Nos. 4, 6, 7 he took from *H* as may be noted.

which agrees with a gloss in *s*, but is not found elsewhere in the MSS of the Hervarar saga. With reference to this MS Peringskiöld said: "De priorum istorum migrationibus reddituque ad suos luculenta atque insignia exstant Testimonia in Historia Hervarae, quae in pergameno scripta inter codices Regii Archivi Antiquitatum exstat, plurimis sane in locis auctior prae exemplari illo, quo usus fuerat Cl. Verelius in editione ejusdem operis." The citation follows, its language not strongly suggesting an old MS, as Heusler and Ranisch note, while citations supposedly from the same MS in Rudbeck's *Atland* agreeing with *s* do not differ from *b* or *H* (only cannot have originated with *R*). We do not know with absolute certainty that the MS used by Rudbeck was the same as the one mentioned by Peringskiöld. Rudbeck speaks only of an old "Codex" loaned him by Peringskiöld; he does not say how old it was, nor even that it was a parchment. Peringskiöld does appear to speak of a parchment from the Royal "Antikvitetsarkiv." It may well be that both used the same MS as Klemming supposed, but if that is the case Heusler and Ranisch are certainly right in their assertion that, if a parchment, it could at most have been only a late parchment of the seventeenth century. The citation in the orthography of Peringskiöld is as follows:

Thessu samtiida komu austan Asiemenn oc Tirkiar oc bigdu Nordurlaudn. Foringiar theirrar ferdar voru braedur tveir het annar Odin en annar Alfur. Their bygdu sidan badir mestann luta Nordur Halfunnar: bygde Alfur hinn Eystra part og kalladi epter sinu nafne Alfheima. Thad Folk sem thar fæddest var fidara (for *friðara*) adrum Folke. Hin vestra lut Nordur halfunnar bygde Odin og kallade Mannheima eda Mannheim. Bader their Brædur voru Kongar. Odin formadr theirra atti marga Sonu urdu their aller mikler menn och riker.

Of this the first and last sentences are those of Verelius' text; the rest corresponds with the gloss of Guðmundur Ólafsson. As the source of this gloss cannot be demonstrated from any MSS of the Hervarar saga preserved, so it cannot be traced to any other Old Norse literary work.¹ With reference to its source I can add nothing definite, but would call attention to the following facts as supporting

¹ For Old Norse material of this nature I can refer to Heusler, "Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altnordischen Schrifttum," *Abh. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1908, phil. hist. Kl.*, III.

the contention that it emanates from a source other than the U-version of the Hervarar saga. If the first and last sentences of the above citation be taken together, with the omission of all intervening, as they occur in Verelius' text (i.e., in the U-version of the saga), we have a consistent expression of a current Old Icelandic conception.¹ But that inserted agrees neither with this conception nor with the last sentence, before which it is inserted, in that after the assignment of two brothers as leaders Odin is spoken of as sole leader. Furthermore Álfr and Álfheimar have already been mentioned in the first chapter of Verelius' text without any such relationship to Odin. This with the other facts brought forth establishes pretty definitely two things: (1) the extraneousness of Ólafsson's source for this gloss; (2) the fact that Peringskiöld's source here was either *s* itself or a copy of it of some sort.²

Having freed *u* from the incumbrance of *s*, the independence of *u* over against *R* and *H* should next be established. The details of the interrelationship of the three versions I reserve for the next chapter. I will content myself here with the statement of a few facts leaving this independence of *u*, as it seems, beyond dispute. For one thing, the riddles differ in number and order of arrangement, not only in *R* and *H* (*h¹*, *h²*), but Verelius differs decidedly from both, as follows:³

<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> (<i>h¹</i> , <i>h²</i>)	<i>Ver.</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> (<i>h¹</i> , <i>h²</i>)	<i>Ver.</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> (<i>h¹</i> , <i>h²</i>)	<i>Ver.</i>
1	1	1	14	29	16	27	28	.....
2	2	2	15	5	17	28	34	.....
3	3	3	16	25	14	29	35	27
4	4	4	17	26	24	30	36	28
5	9	20	18	20	8	.....	7	.....
6	14	9	19	21-22	7-5	.....	10	.....
7	8	10	20	22-21	5-7	.....	11	.....
8	16	15	21	21 (1 line only)	6	.....	13	.....
9	17	21	22	27	23	.....	15	.....
10	18	11	23	6	19	.....	30	.....
11	24	22	24	23	18	.....	33	.....
12	31	12	25	32	25	.....	.....	.....
13	19	13	26	12	26	.....	.....	.....

¹ Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*

² On the reliability of Peringskiöld's statements cf. *Svenskt biographiskt lexikon*, xi, 143, 1845.

³ The numbers are those of Bugge's and Verelius' editions; corresponding horizontal position shows agreement of content.

The H-version, which had laid its emphasis on Heiðrekr and the riddle-contest, has some seven riddles and a concluding stanza (37) not found in the other versions, the U-version lacks two riddles of *R* and has an arrangement (after 1-4) entirely independent of either of the others.

Bugge (pp. 269 f.) noted in the paper MSS of the b-group a sudden improvement beginning slightly before the close of *R* and independent of *R*, which he wrongly ascribed to *H*. These better readings come from the U-version which, as already noted, was used by the writer of *b* beginning slightly before the end of *R*, whose last page is not easily legible.

One other point I would mention in this place which seems to me absolutely conclusive as to the independence of the U-version: the episode common to the *Hervarar saga* and the *Qrvar-Odds saga*. This is passed over briefly in *H*, as already noted, without verses and with a reference to the *Qrvar-Odds saga*. The version of it found in *u* cannot possibly then go back to *H*; it must either have originated from *R* or be independent. If it shows better readings than *R*, how are these to be explained? As a criterion we have, apart from the usual considerations, the possibility of comparison with the text of the *Qrvar-Odds saga*. The episode in question is related in *R* in chap. ii and part of iii (Bugge's edition, pp. 300-310). In *H* the few details given are found in chap. iii (Bugge's edition, pp. 207-9). Verelius' edition based upon *u* contains the episode with verses in chaps. iv, v. The *Qrvar-Odds saga* (ed. Boer, Leiden, 1888) contains the same episode in chaps. 26-29 of the M-version. If we confine our attention to the stanzas, which present the clearest testimony, we find them preserved as follows:

Q-O (M)	Herv (R)	Herv (V)	Q-O (M)	Herv (R)	Herv (V)	Q-O (M)	Herv (R)	Herv (V)
1	.....	.....	8	1 ⁸ , (2 ⁸), 4	1 ⁸ , (2 ⁸), 5	15	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	9	5	6	16	7	8
3	.....	.....	10	6	7	17	10	12
4	1 ¹⁻²	1 ¹⁻²	11	.....	.....	18	.....	.....
5	2 ³⁻⁴	2 ³⁻⁴	12	11	11	19	8	9
6	3	3	13	9	10	20	12	13
7	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	2 ¹	2 ¹	4

As can be seen from the foregoing, Ver. has essentially the same verses as *R* and in nearly the same order, except for an inferior fragment (4) found in neither *R* nor Q-O. If one were to assume that the writer of the U-version of the Hervarar saga had himself employed the Qrvar-Odds saga, which is practically inconceivable, he might certainly have been expected to take more of the stanzas. That the U-version does, however, by comparison with Q-O actually contain many better readings than *R* is abundantly shown in the following table, where Verelius and Bugge are used respectively for the U- and the R-version and Boer's Leyden edition of *M* for the Qrvar-Odds saga:

<i>R</i>	Ver.	Q-O (<i>M</i>)
4. Einn skal uid einn eiga, nema se deigr, huatra drengia, eda hugr bili.	5. Eirn skal vid eirn Orosto heyá Hraustra Dreingia Nema hugur bili.	8:3-4. einn skal vip einn eiga orrostu hvatra drengja, nema hugr bile.
5:2b. margar undir	6:2b. Miklar undir	9:2b. miklar under
5:3b. ok in sida brynia*	6:3b. En a hlid brinia	9:3b. en á hlíp bryna
7:1-2. Aktag at fullu fim tun saman, enn ek þui alldri unda radi;	8:1-2. Att' eg a folldu Fim bu saman, Enn eg unda þo Alldrey a ladi;†	16:1-2. Átta ek á foldo fimm bú saman, en þui unda ek allvel láði;
8:1-2. Drecka i haullu huskarlar mið meniom góðger at mins faudr;	9:1-2. Dreckur med Iofri Iarlæ meingi Ol gladliga Ad Uppsaulum:‡	19:1-2. Drekr meþ jöfre jarla menge ol glaplega at Uppsalom;
9:1. Huarf ek fra huitri hlads bedgungi	10:1. Leiddi mig hin¶ hvita Hilmers dotter	13:1. Leidi|| en hvfta hilmes dötter
10:4. er ek eigi kem til Uppsala.	12:4. Er** hun sidan Sier mig† aldrey.	17:4. er uid sidan siaumst alldregi.††

* Alliteration lacking.

† As line 2 *u* had originally *enn eg þui alldr dollda a ladi*.

‡ For these lines *u* seems to have read originally *Drecka I hollu huskallar med meya*
giðder ad myns fadr. This was crossed out and the reading given by Verelius written
over it in a different hand.

¶ For *hin* the MS *u* has *en*.

|| The *mik* lost in this MS is preserved in others of Q-O.

** The MS *u* has *ef* instead of *er*.

†† The MS *u* has *mig sier* instead of *Sier mig*.

†† Other MSS of Q-O read *at (ef) hin sidan mik sér alldregi*. ††

That in many of these cases Q-O (and therefore also Ver. and *u*) has the better reading as compared with *R* was admitted by Bugge;¹ in other cases Ver. agrees with *R* against Q-O and in still others is manifestly corrupt as compared with both. This leaves *u* independent of *R* and *H* and disposes entirely, as it seems to me, of Sharovolski's idea that the U-version was one contaminated from *R* and *H* at an earlier period than the compiled MS *b*, his error resting, as we have already intimated, upon the assumption that the U-version was best represented by *s*, which we have seen does represent a contamination, not, however, an earlier one, but *b* itself. So in the next stanzas of *R* (Nos. 13-17 of Bugge), which are preserved neither in *H* nor in Qrvar-Odds saga, but only in *R* and *u*, in 13:1b Bugge finds *uegsemd* of *u* preferable to *uegsems* of *R*, and in 17:3a *satt* of *u* to *fatt* of *R*, while it is by no means impossible that either of the considerably divergent readings of *u* may deserve the preference over those of *R*. So also in the other parts where stanzas are preserved in both *H* and *R* we have in *u* a decided possibility of control over corrupt readings, in that it often agrees with the one or the other but may differ from both. In its critical use for the verses, for which it has never been employed, not even by Heusler and Ranisch,² it may certainly be expected to vindicate itself as of independent value.

The U-version of the saga is represented then by but two MSS, both paper ones of the seventeenth century, by *u* throughout its length, by *b* for a short portion of the beginning, stopping abruptly in the first lines of Verelius' fourth chapter (p. 50) with *Arngrimz syner ect.* and for the conclusion beginning in Verelius' chap. xvii (p. 162, l. 15; Bugge, p. 269, l. 12, p. 348, l. 20) and being used to the end of the saga. From the great care exercised by the writer of *b* as already described we must infer that its original of the U-version is accurately copied, but there is unfortunately no reason to suppose this original was other than a slightly older paper MS which has otherwise disappeared. The MS *u* is described in Gödel's catalogue of the Uppsala MSS.³ It is a small octavo book with parchment

¹ *Norröne Skrifter*, 302 ff. in footnotes; cf. also Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica minor*, pp. xxxvii ff., 49 ff.

² That they used it for the "Lied von der Hunnenschlacht" was inevitable, as most of this is preserved only through the U-version.

³ *Katalog öfver Upsala Universitets Bibliotekas fornialändska och fornorniska handskrifter*, 66 f., 1892.

binding and contains at the beginning the Hervarar saga, following it the Háttalykill Lopts ríka Guttormssonar, the Herrauðs saga ok Bósa, the Vinavísur, and the Úlfs saga Uggasonar. It is poorly written and shows copious entries on the margins in different hands—of proverbs and matter largely foreign to the text, though the text has itself been “repaired” by various persons, readings being crossed out and others substituted, sometimes in the hand of the original writer, sometimes in other hand or hands, so that it is not always easy to make out what the original contained. The latest reading was usually taken by Verelius, but that he allowed himself considerable freedom in his use of the MS can be noted from the passages cited above. Under these circumstances the conditions for the restoration of the U-version of the saga are not wholly favorable. The MSS of the “Salanska Samlingen” were turned over to the University Library in Upsala in 1717. The MS *u* bears the record of having been given to Petrus Salan by Jacob Reenhielm. The latter received it from the Icelander Jónas Rugman in 1666, who had brought it with him from Iceland in 1658.¹ The copyist of the Hervarar saga in this MS was according to Rugman “Pall Hallson ad Nupufelli.” If this is correct, the Páll Hallsson referred to must be the one who spent the latter part of his life as librarian and preacher in Denmark († 1663).² His father was Hallr f Möðrufelli, but he had a half-brother Halldór (Hallsson) f Núpufelli.³

As to the exact relation of *b* and *u* to each other it is clear enough from the poor quality of *u* and its occasionally corrupt readings as compared with *b* that *b* is not a copy direct or indirect of *u*. As *b* contains only part of the U-version *u* cannot of course go back to *b*; it has furthermore correct readings in places where *b* is corrupt. The two MSS are then to be used in the relation:



and the age of *U* can best be discussed in the next chapter. That they go back to a copy of *U* (*u*^x) rather than the original would be

¹ Cf. Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i. Sverige*, 80 ff., on Rugman.

² Cf. J. Worm, *Forsøg til et Lexicon over danske, norske og islandiske lærde Mand*, III, 286, 1784; Finni Johannaell *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*, III, 585 f., 1775; Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i Sverige*, 108, 1897; Sharovolski, *op. cit.*, XLI, 1906.

³ Cf. Jón Espolin, *Íslands Árbakur*, VI, 99, 1827.

shown by common mistakes of a sort referable only to a scribe. For this comparison Sharovolski's edition is best employed, as it alone has properly appreciated *b*. I note the following cases.

P. 65, No. 28: *u gunj, b gune*; for *gumi*.¹

P. 66, No. 7: *u fagrar vigar, b fagrar veigar*; both lacking alliteration with the preceding half-line *Eg mun bioda pier*.

P. 66, No. 9: both *b* and *u* meidna for *meiðma*.

P. 67, No. 10: *u Fia, b Fya*; for *þyjar* (Bugge).

P. 67, No. 31: both *b* and *u* diarfliga; gives no alliteration; Bugge suggested *fraknliga*.

P. 68, No. 3: *u fromlega, b franliga*; no alliteration; Sharovolski suggests *hvalliga*.

P. 69, No. 16: both *b* and *u* gauta; for *Gota*.

P. 73, No. 13: both *b* and *u* dingiu; for *Dylgju*; the latter form occurs correctly in other places in the same MSS.

P. 75, No. 1: both *b* and *u* meidna; for *meiðma*.

P. 75, Nos. 9, 10, etc.: *u vydfarma, b Widfarma*; for *víðfaðma*.

P. 76, Nos. 7, etc.: both *b* and *u* Gotlandi; for *Gaußlandi*.

P. 76, No. 8: *u framar, b framan*; for *fyr* (Bugge).

P. 77, Nos. 21, etc.: *u Eivindur, b Eyvindur*; for *Eymundr*.

P. 77, No. 24: both *b* and *u* Astrudur; for *Ástriðr*.

P. 78, No. 24: both *b* and *u* Preingdu; for *þrøngðu*.

These cases are, whatever objection might be made to a few of them individually, qualitatively and quantitatively sufficient to demonstrate the relationship in question:



That *u*^x was a late paper MS showing modern Icelandic forms has been asserted by Heusler and Ranisch and developed at length by Sharovolski in connection with another point. While it is conceivable enough that two modern Icelandic scribes may have introduced the same features of modern Icelandic orthography independently of each other, the correspondences are so general and in some cases of such a sort that one is inclined to agree that *u*^x must have been a paper MS rather than a parchment.

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¹ The *gumi* of Bugge's *i* originated in an emendation of Brynjólfur Sveinsson found on the margin of *b*.

A NEW STAGE-DIRECTION FOR *MUCH ADO*, ACT I, SCENE i

It is perilous to tamper with long-established usage, but in the point at issue usage has been self-confessedly at fault or in doubt almost from the beginning. Theobald gave up in despair, while modern editors dismiss the problem unsolved as "one of those instances of the poet's carelessness in the minor parts of his plot" (H. H. Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, Much Adoe about Nothing*, p. 43, note on line 312¹). But in 1850 and again in 1877 James Spedding brought forward a solution of the difficulty in a suggestion which was accepted by Halliwell (p. 44) and in 1909 emphatically approved of by the late Mr. Horace Howard Furness (p. 45). The hazardous undertaking herein embarked upon attempts nothing less than the refutation of Spedding's doubly ratified suggestion² and the substitution of a new stage-direction for the one which editors for two centuries have printed at the opening of *Much Ado*, Act I, scene i.

Where shall the scene be laid, at the opening of the play (pp. 43-45, 363-67)? The difficulty lies in Antonio's statement, I, ii, 8 ff., that "the Prince and Count Claudio" were "walking in a thick pleached alley in my orchard" and "were thus overheard by a man of mine:" whereas, according to all the editors, this conversation has just taken place "Before Leonato's house" (p. 5)—on stage, in the presence of the audience, at the close of the immediately preceding scene, I, i, 280-320. The only satisfactory way of removing this inconsistency has seemed to be Spedding's; he suggested that Act II should begin with I, ii, and then in the interval between acts sufficient time might be supposed to elapse to permit the Prince and Claudio to go to Antonio's orchard, hold a second conversation there, and return to Leonato's in time for supper.

¹ Throughout this article, references to page and line otherwise unidentified are to be understood as applying to this edition of the play.

² This suggestion has actually been adopted, and the text altered accordingly, in the *Old Spelling Shakespeare*, general editor I. Gollancz; cf. *Much Adoe*, ed. W. G. Boswell-Stone, 1908, vol. XIX, pp. x, xi.

Upon examination, however, it will be found that this suggestion creates more difficulties or raises more objections than it removes. Spedding supports it by a twofold argument, which will be met and answered in kind; i.e., the first five points below are urged against the specific data as to the time and place of certain minor occurrences which he adduces in favor of his suggestion, while the sixth and last contention below is urged against his argument based on the aesthetic effect of the dramatic construction.

1. This supposed conversation would be, not the second but the third, between the Prince and Claudio on this same subject; for Borachio has overheard them in a room in Leonato's house (I, iii, 54-59). Surely a third such conversation, twice at least open to overhearing and misunderstanding, is a needless multiplication of improbability, where the undertaking was so delicate as to make secrecy essential to propriety as well as to success.

2. No mention of this excursion is made in the play, nor can any possible motive be assigned for it. If the Prince and Claudio were willing to discuss the affair in Leonato's courtyard and again in his house, why in the world should they seek out a retired alley in Antonio's orchard merely to go over the same ground again?

3. It seems difficult to find time for such an excursion, inasmuch as the action is apparently continuous, save for intervals fully accounted for, from the opening of the play to the end of Act II, scene i. For the Prince arrives late in the day ("comes this *night*," I, i, 7); then the supper (I, iii, 39; II, i, 4) cannot but be served shortly afterward; and the mask follows immediately (II, i, 78 ff.); and both supper and mask evidently take place on the evening of the Prince's arrival (I, i, 267, 312). Moreover, Shakespeare can hardly have contemplated this excursion, for the last words he puts into the Prince's mouth, in the last line of the scene, are these (I, i, 320): "In practice let us put it *presently*" (i.e., of course, *immediately*).¹

4. As Furness admits (p. 45), "the chiefest objection to Spedding's division would be . . . the shortness of the first act," which would

¹ Some time does elapse, of course, between the Prince's arrival in Messina and the supper: but this time is brief, at best, and the various events occurring in the interval leave little time for the superfluous excursion. Note further that the Prince's walk (toward Leonato's and back to Claudio, during the latter's conversation with Benedick) has taken place *before* the hatching of the plot: all the less time, therefore, will remain for this needless excursion before they put their plan into execution.

A NEW STAGE-DIRECTION FOR "MUCH ADO," ACT I, SCENE I 3

have 320 lines as against 515, 668, 574, and 611, for the other acts, respectively. "As a general rule, Shakespeare, like the careful and infinitely painstaking workman that he was, makes his first acts somewhat longer proportionately than the others" (*ibid.*). Furness and Spedding have not pointed out that only two plays of Shakespeare, in their present standard published form, have a first act consisting of but a single scene; viz., *Titus Andronicus*, where Shakespeare is usually credited with little more responsibility than the "retouching" of an older play; and *King John*, a play of Shakespeare's earlier period and one in which the second act also consists of but a single long scene.¹

5. The natural and legitimate pause between acts occurs after Act I, iii, not after I, i. Spedding says (p. 365), in speaking of Act III: "Precisely at this juncture it is . . . that the pause between the acts takes place—that indefinite interval during which the only thing almost which one can *not* imagine is that nothing has happened and no time passed. When the curtain rises again, the least we expect to hear is that some considerable event has occurred since it fell." Yet he expects us to be satisfied with this statement (p. 366) about his proposed entr'acte after I, i: "Claudio and the Prince, we find, have been walking about, since we last saw them, in orchards and galleries, still talking² upon the one subject which Claudio can talk upon with interest." In other words, "nothing has happened"—"the only thing almost which one can *not* imagine"! To quote his own strong disapproval of the opening of Act IV: "We find everything exactly where it was. . . . The action has not advanced a step"! Plainly then, using Spedding's own principles, which he himself unhappily fails to apply in Act I, we must confess that there is no proper ground for inserting an entr'acte after I, i. But how is it in the case of I, iii? What "considerable event" has occurred since the curtain fell at the close of I, iii? No less a ceremony has occurred than the "great supper" (I, iii, 39, 40, 66; II, i, 4), of whose magnitude we are thus twice assured, after having had our expectations aroused in scene i

¹ F. G. Fleay has demonstrated that Act I of *King John* must have been intended to be, and should be, divided into two scenes; cf. *Troublesome Reign of King John*, ed. J. Munro, 1913, p. 155. Thus Spedding's arrangement would give *Much Ado* a unique peculiarity, aside from the pre-Shakespearean *Titus*.

² All this in direct contradiction of I, i, 320, the Prince's eager resolution: "In practice let us put it presently"!

by the Prince (I, i, 266-69) and in scene ii by Leonato's strenuous urgency "this busie time."¹ The supper is evidently going on during scene iii, but quite as evidently most of it remains for the entr'acte; otherwise, Don John's remark (I, iii, 66) is absurd. Spedding is strangely in error on this point; he says (p. 367): "Between the first and second [acts], the stage had to be prepared for the great supper and mask in Leonato's house." The mask requires considerable scenic preparation nowadays, doubtless (and is thus far a further objection to his suggestion, as he admits), though in Elizabethan times apparently nothing more was needed than a clear stage; but the supper obviously takes place behind the scenes as is proved by the four references last cited, and by II, i, 78, at which point the "revellers" *enter* the dancing hall (i.e., the stage) *from* the dining-hall (i.e., behind the scenes). Nor can this blunder be excused under cover of Don John's remark (II, i, 164), "Come, let us to the banquet," for this is another collation (cf. Furness' *Variorum Romeo and Juliet*, p. 83, note on I, v, 120), and it too takes place off stage. Furthermore there was no need to present this supper upon the stage; a more brilliant and lively spectacle was to be afforded immediately by the dance or mask. So the stage does not have to be prepared for the supper, but time *must* elapse while this ceremonial festivity takes place (off-stage), and this is the natural and legitimate pause, big with conjectural possibilities, that is so artistic and pleasing a feature of the present standard arrangement of scenes and acts.

6. So much for the mere letter and detail of textual argument, necessary in order to overthrow Spedding's textual support of his suggestion; there remains the higher question of the aesthetic gain or loss resulting from his rearrangement. After his proposed first act (i.e., I, i), Spedding says (p. 366): "Now shut the book. Let 'the curtain fall upon the fancied stage'; consider what is past, and wonder what is coming." We may indeed "wonder"; but nothing but prophetic inspiration (or familiarity with the rest of the play) can make this first scene, taken by itself alone, an adequate major premise or presentation of all necessary data. Spedding continues (*ibid.*): "We have been introduced to all the principal persons." Not so, in

¹ And perhaps in scene iii, 67-68, by Don John's melodramatic threat, "Would the Cooke were of my minde!"

any satisfactory sense of the word "introduced," for we have had but one line from Hero and Don John and not even a glimpse of Antonio; the other two scenes are necessary parts of the introduction. Surely the present arrangement is the natural one, if the object be to arouse expectation and interest, build up a climax, and then keep the audience in suspense during the entr'acte; for scene i lays before us the main situation, which becomes pregnant with meaning only when scenes ii and iii rapidly complicate the affair with their totally unforeseen misapprehension. During the pause after scene iii, before Act II, scene i opens, the audience is left in a state of exquisite uncertainty, charmed by the daring absurdity of the surprising complication and prepared to speculate intelligently as to the possibilities involved. Now it is to be noticed that this misapprehension (by Antonio, Borachio, and later Benedick) of the purpose of the Prince leads to nothing at all, so far as the main action of the play is concerned; all is over, by II, i, 284, and the state of affairs is then just what it would have been if no one had ever overheard and misapprehended the Prince and Claudio. Why then is this distinct little episode, this first misunderstanding, this preliminary "ado about nothing," introduced into the play at all? Partly because of the purpose of this play, to present a series of just such mistakes over "not(h)ing"; but chiefly because of its preparation of the audience for the main improbability of the play. Just as in *Romeo and Juliet*, the parallel Rosaline episode (similarly pointless, otherwise) prepares the audience through its exposition of Romeo's character to accept his falling in love with Juliet "at first sight" (so unconvincing, necessarily, on the stage), so also this preliminary misapprehension prepares the audience through its exposition of Claudio's character to accept his later gross shortcomings in judgment and deportment. This is undeniably a most important thing for the dramatist to accomplish; anything that will lessen the improbability of Claudio's later outrageous conduct is vital. Therefore the present arrangement is not only natural and artistic, as above suggested, but also dramatically essential, in that it greatly heightens the value and effectiveness of this all-important episode, in this way: where Spedding would dismiss this episode in three brief scenes of the same act (Act II), played in rapid and unbroken succession, and thus

sacrifice the substance to the shadow in his misguided effort to gain time and emphasis for a conversation for which there is no dramatic or human necessity or opportunity, the present arrangement of scenes and acts gives the utmost possible effectiveness to this episode by making it figure in two acts and by prolonging the audience's consideration of it through the interposition of the natural and legitimate pause between acts just at the point where surmise and suspense have been most keenly aroused and stimulated. Certainly on aesthetic grounds then, also, the verdict must be that there would be much loss and no gain in adopting Spedding's proposed rearrangement of acts and scenes.

Spedding's suggestion having been thus disposed of, it remains to attack the original problem which he was attempting to solve. His statement of the difficulty may be taken as starting-point (p. 365):

At the end of the first scene of the first act, the Prince and Claudio leave the stage (*which represents the open space before Leonato's house*), the Prince having that moment conceived and disclosed his project of making love to Hero in Claudio's name. Then the scene shifts to a room in Leonato's house, where the first thing we hear is that, *in a thick pleached alley in Antonio's orchard*, the Prince has been overheard telling Claudio that he loved Hero and meant to acknowledge it that night in a dance, etc. All this is told to us, while the Prince's last words are still ringing in our ears; and it is told, not by the person who overheard the conversation, but by Antonio, to whom he has reported it. We are called on, therefore, to imagine that, while the scene was merely shifting the Prince and Claudio have had time for a second conversation in Antonio's orchard, and that one of Antonio's men, overhearing it, has had time to tell him of it. Now this is one of the things which it is *impossible* to imagine. I do not mean merely that the thing is *physically impossible*, for art is not tied to physical impossibilities. I mean that the impossibility is presented so strongly to the imagination that it cannot be overlooked or forgotten. The imagination refuses to be so imposed upon.

Now, evidently, this impossibility insurmountable to the imagination exists only if we accept what has hitherto apparently been unquestioned, namely the correctness of the assumption italicized above—the assumption that the stage-direction for Act I, scene i should be an *open space before Leonato's house*. According to Furness (p. 5), the authority on which this assumption rests is Pope's or Capell's;

they and all subsequent editors have simply drawn this inference from the internal evidence afforded by the text of the scene itself, for of course an examination of the Quarto and Four Folios¹ reveals no trace of any stage-direction concerning the location of the scene. All that needs to be done, therefore, is to draw the correct inference from the data in the text, and thus to supplant Pope's erroneous stage-direction by the true one, which will, incidentally, obviate Spedding's difficulty at the same time.

Pope's assumption was seemingly based on the general probability that a gentleman would be at his own door to receive a distinguished guest, here his feudal superior; but on the other hand it may be urged that this general probability is here overborne by the particular likelihood that Leonato was taken unawares by the imminence of the Prince's approach (p. 5; I, ii, *passim*), and so was found away from home by the messenger (who has, perhaps, been about Messina in search of him; for otherwise the messenger would hardly have delivered other letters before the Prince's to Leonato: cf. I, i, 24). Pope's assumption is further supported by three passages, apparently; yet all three are open to another interpretation. Don Pedro says (I, i, 145-47): "My deere friend Leonato hath invited you all. I tell him we shall stay here at the least a moneth." While this word "here" may refer to Leonato's house, it may also refer to Messina in general. Secondly, Leonato says to Don John (I, i, 151): "Let mee bid you welcome, my Lord"; again, while he may be welcoming guests to his own house, he may also—as governor of the city—be welcoming prominent foreigners to the freedom of the city. Thirdly, Leonato says to Don Pedro (I, i, 97-100): "Never came trouble to my house in the likenes of your Grace: for trouble being gone, comfort should remaine: but when you depart from me, sorrow abides, and happinesse takes his leave." Here the words "my house" seem to indicate that the Prince is indeed at Leonato's very door; but, in the first place, Leonato may well mean here no more than "my family" (cf. Mercutio's "A plague o' both your houses," *Romeo and Juliet*, III, i, 85, 93, 99, 101) and "myself, as head of the family,"² an interpretation borne out by the phrase "from me,"

¹ In the library of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University.

² Cf. Lear's precisely similar phrase, II, iv, 149: "Do you but mark how this becomes the house."

below; and, in the second place, the statement is obviously intended as an assertion of a general truth, and not at all as a particular description of the special case then conducting. So, on the whole, the evidence supporting Pope's assumption is far from conclusive, and negatively the argument for a new assumption or inference is thus far sustained.

Positively, four other passages may be adduced as reasonably conclusive evidence that this scene cannot be laid in the "open space before Leonato's house" but must be more remote. First, Leonato says, after his invitation has been accepted and his guests are prepared to adjourn to his house (I, i, 156): "Please it your grace leade on?" and Don Pedro replies: "Your hand, Leonato, we will goe together." Notice: "lead on," not "lead in"; "goe," not "goe in." Where the scene is certainly laid just outside Leonato's house, and the characters really have nothing to do but just step indoors, we find these expressions: "My Lord, will you walke? dinner is ready" (II, iii, 202; here "walke" = "withdraw, retire," walk in, according to the note, p. 127); "I am sent to bid you come in to dinner" (II, iii, 236); "Come, goe in" (III, i, 106). Secondly, Don Pedro says: "What secret hath held you here, that you followed not to Leonatoes?" Notice: "Leonato's," not "into the house"; surely "Leonato's" is contradistinguished from "here," their present location, which is somebody else's (namely, *Antonio's*). Thirdly, again but more emphatically, Don Pedro says (I, i, 266-69): "Good Signior Benedicke, repaire to Leonatoes, commend me to him, and tell him I will not faile him at supper, for indeede he hath made great preparation."¹ Now, even granting that this is merely an excuse for getting rid of Benedick, still, we may ask, why all this cumbrous elaboration? If the three are standing just outside of Leonato's house and Don Pedro has just left his host inside, in order to step out and bring his friends back in again with him, would not the natural phrasing here be something like this: "Go in and tell Leonato that I'm coming right in again, with Claudio"? How can they "faile

¹ This might seem to show that the Prince here contemplated making some sort of excursion with Claudio, covered by Benedick's apology to Leonato. But the other evidence adduced proves that Benedick was merely sent on before post-haste, to reassure Leonato, while the Prince and Claudio followed directly, but more deliberately, "in sad conference." The Prince simply wished to be alone with Claudio during the walk to Leonato's, after a brief tête-à-tête.

him at supper," if they are on his own grounds, at his very door? Fourthly, Don Pedro's first speech upon entering (I, i, 94-96) really settles the point; he says there: "Good Signior Leonato, you are come to meet your trouble: the fashion of the world is to avoid cost, and you encounter it." If Leonato had simply stepped over his threshold into his courtyard, this emphasis upon his *coming to meet* his trouble, reiterated five lines below, in line 101, would seem absurdly disproportionate; surely this meeting has taken place at some considerable distance from Leonato's house, and the liege lord assumes (rightly or wrongly) that his vassal has come thus far to do him special honor or show him special devotion and congratulates and thanks Leonato accordingly. Therefore, since there appears to be no satisfactory reason for accepting Pope's assumption that this scene is laid in "A Court before Leonato's House," while there is fairly conclusive evidence that the action must have taken place at some other locality in Messina, it is here contended that the correct inference to be drawn from the data before us establishes the following as the true stage-direction for Act I, scene i of *Much Ado: Antonio's Orchard*.

Let us consider the situation at the opening of the play from this new standpoint, and see how simply, naturally, and fittingly this new stage-direction provides the scenic setting for the opening events. On their way to the seat of the war, Don Pedro, Claudio, and Benedick spent some time in Messina, a city familiar to them all for various reasons, and were the guests of Leonato, for part of the time, at least. Antonio's villa in Messina lies somewhat closer to the walls than does Leonato's, is perhaps very near to the city-gate itself; and hither Leonato repairs on the day on which the play opens, either by way of friendly visit to his brother, or because he wishes to be at the city-gate to receive his Prince whenever the latter may return from the war; in either case, Leonato is somewhat surprised by the early arrival of the Prince (for, contrary to expectation, success has been won very speedily and bloodlessly), but is complimented by Don Pedro for his readiness and courtesy in coming so far to welcome him. After the brief exchange of greetings, for it is late and they have some distance to go, the noble company set out on their walk to Leonato's, excepting Claudio, who detains Benedick in order to

to seek from his brother-in-arms some help or sympathy in his dawning love. But lover and confidant are soon interrupted by the Prince, who has missed his favorite on the way to Leonato's and retraced his steps to find him; this mark of princely favor elicits Benedick's comment: "Looke, Don Pedro is returned to seeke you" (I, i, 196-97). (Notice: "returned," not "come out"; i.e., the Prince has walked back some distance, and not simply stepped out of the adjoining house.) After some badinage, Benedick is sent on ahead to Leonato's to notify their host that the Prince will surely arrive in time for the sumptuous supper that has long been planned in his honor, while Don Pedro and Claudio pace to and fro in the thick pleached alley of Antonio's orchard (i.e., between hedges, or rows of climbing plants such as sweet-peas or rambler roses, in the gardens before Antonio's house where Leonato had been found by the messenger and the Prince; for here, as usual, "orchard" means "garden"). One of Antonio's gardeners, perhaps a trusted family servant, or perhaps merely a garrulous gossip, while gathering flowers for the great supper, overhears fragments of the Prince's conversation with Claudio.¹ His work done, he leaves the noble pair in the midst of their consultation, hastens to Leonato's, delivers his flowers, and (perhaps even before his victims reach the house) reports to his master the garbled version of what he has overheard, which is instantly transmitted to Leonato (I, ii, 8-15). Meanwhile, the Prince and Claudio set out from Antonio's house, after resolving to put their plan into execution immediately, reach and enter Leonato's house just in time for supper but still deep in their project ("hand in hand in sad [i.e., serious, earnest] conference," I, iii, 56), and are there for the second and last time overheard and misapprehended (I, iii, 54-59).² There need be no break between scenes i and ii; we have simply to allow time for the Prince and Claudio to walk briskly from Antonio's garden to Leonato's house, and no lengthy

¹ Professor C. M. Lewis suggests to me a detail which would insure the audience's comprehension of the situation and incidentally lend much humor to the scene: let the "gardener" be shown behind the hedge during this dialogue (though unseen by the Prince and Claudio, of course), and after he has listened a while with appropriate dumb-play, let him hurry off in surprise to tell Antonio. Such a feature would certainly be effective on the modern stage, and may well have been part of the original stage "business" of the scene as acted in Shakespeare's time.

² What Borachio overhears would therefore be simply the uninterrupted continuation of the original conversation; so the improbability objected to above, in argument 1, is removed.

intermission like that between acts is necessary for this. So the adoption of the stage-direction "Antonio's Orchard" for Act I, scene i, obviates all difficulties in the opening of the play and for the first time renders possible a coherent, simple, and natural account of the sequence of events in these troublesome scenes.

Furthermore, upon turning back to the six objections above urged against Spedding's suggestion, it will be found that they are all (especially the first four) strong arguments in support of the adoption of this new stage-direction. Spedding's other suggestion, relative to the position of the intermission between Acts III and IV (pp. 365-67), is not in any way invalidated by the demonstrated fallacy of his first suggestion, of course, so that his improvements in those acts may be retained while his weak first act is strengthened by nearly 100 lines and becomes almost two-thirds as long as the longest act instead of less than one-half as long.

W. A. Wright has dismissed the whole question of stage-directions here with this slighting remark (perhaps because no solution of the difficulty occurred to him): "Probably Shakespeare was careless about the matter, which is of no importance" (p. 44). It seems more just to say that Shakespeare, without being "careless" (for the word implies a fault, however slight), merely wrote for his own stage and not for ours: "the matter" *was* "of no importance" in a production without scenery or program. For the Elizabethan stage, as well as for any consideration of the play purely as poetry, the simple stage-direction of the Quarto, the Folios, and the "first modern" is all-sufficient: "Enter Leonato Governour of Messina," etc. But "the matter" decidedly *is* "of importance" for a modern production wherein a definite scenic setting must be presented upon the stage, for a modern printed program, and perhaps above all for a modern published version, especially a critical edition. So Wright is not quite justifiable in cavalierly treating the whole matter as much ado about nothing. The new stage-direction here argued for is, therefore, offered as a suggestion for modern performances and editions, or for the ideal or "imaginary theater" (p. 367) with which alone Spedding professed to concern himself.

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OMISSION OF THE CENTRAL ACTION IN ENGLISH BALLADS

In order to treat of the central action, which involves what is perhaps most vital in the method of the ballads, a theory of ballad origins is necessary; for unless we have some notion as to who wrote the ballads, we cannot be sure why they were written just as they are.

Let us confess at the outset that the distinction between "true" ballads and "made" ones seems to us misleading; that all ballads seem to be made, some well and some badly, some in conformity with the principles which underlie the type to which they belong and others in imitation of these original ballads. Setting aside the riddle ballads, and one or two survivals of a very early choral dance, we may say that ballads are the products of individuals, and that these individuals belong to schools—not the schools whose names appear in literary history, but anonymous schools of expression.

When we have an anonymous poem in literature, it can usually be associated with the writings which characterize some well-known school, and may be classed as an "anonymous Elizabethan sonnet," an "anonymous Cavalier song," or the like. But in the case of the ballads, not only the author is unknown, but the school itself is, and in most cases always has been, an anonymous one. The literary historians have somehow overlooked it, and we find, virtually, its only record in the stanzas which it has left us.

We see something of the same sort today, even now that the personal element is everywhere so pronounced. Who writes the articles in a metropolitan newspaper? How many people know or care about the composer when they whistle an air from the music-halls? Who makes the jokes of the day which are passed from mouth to mouth? Of course, the parallel should not be carried too far; the newspaper, at least, is conscious and purposive, the ballads were unconscious and without definite purpose. Just what is meant by this distinction? I cannot illustrate better than by recalling the familiar story of Sheridan, the playwright-orator, and the countryman. While passing along an English road, Sheridan met the

countryman and asked what he thought of the new peace with France. The latter replied, in substance: "It is a peace of which we may all be glad, but of which no one can be proud." Sheridan used the epigram at a critical time in Parliament, and electrified that assembly and through it the whole nation. In this case, the countryman spoke unconsciously and without definite purpose the same words which Sheridan, consciously and purposively, used to express the feelings of his fellow-citizens.

It is quite natural for distinct types of art to observe canons of their own. Who desires or expects to find in the newspaper the personal style of Macaulay? I once had pointed out to me an article by one of the most brilliant of the younger newspaper men in America, and was told that it was his masterpiece. It seemed childishly simple, but I could perceive in it a quality which gave it significance. There was no personality in it, little of what we often call style; but its effectiveness was due to an anonymous, unindividualized appeal to the sympathies of men. In this sense, the editorial "we" becomes really significant: and some American newspapers lack the subjective point of view as completely as the ballads.

But as the ballads were made at a comparatively early period, when an education in letters was the rare exception, and when the restraint of literary canons did not bind the anonymous muse, it was natural that very great differences existed between the respective literatures of the coffee-house and the farmhouse. Though a false rhyme is now almost intolerable in English poetry, rhyme is such an incidental feature of the ballads that we soon become used to irregularities, and are jarred only when the words are coupled in an especially harsh fashion, or when the words which are singled out for emphasis are incapable of sustaining it. Though imagery is a prime consideration in modern poetry, we soon learn not to expect much of it in the ballads. The customary quatrain stanza, which would be a fetter to Shelley, is accepted here as the natural thing, and we feel, in many cases, that its very simplicity gives it tremendous force.

This existence of a considerable body of anonymous poetry may be understood better by a comparison. Suppose all the work of the Romantic school were to be lost to literary history (a large suppo-

sition, but one which may serve for illustration), and then were to be rediscovered some centuries hence, surviving anonymously in a somewhat mutilated condition in the mouths of the people. In that case, as in this, new canons of criticism would have to be formulated; and, in order to arrive at a fair evaluation of the poems and a discriminating judgment of them, we should have to select the most vigorous of the versions, discarding as far as possible the dross which a few centuries of forgetfulness, imitation, and bad taste would have given birth to. As before, however, the parallel doesn't extend far; we are reminded that the ballads have not drifted into the mouths of the commoners by accident, and that they are anonymous by nature. We have not merely an anonymous school of poetry; it is a school of anonymous poetry.

Furthermore, the case of the ballads is more complex. We have not one school of narrative poetry, but four. There is also a group, that of flying, in which the theme is not even of a narrative nature. Why have these different ballad schools become confused? Do they represent different and successive stages of artistic development, as Professor W. M. Hart¹ concludes; or have they been thrown together rather indiscriminately, merely because they were found mostly in oral currency, and are they generally independent of any recognized literary school? The first position I shall undertake to prove untenable, somewhat hereafter; and the second position, which I maintain, will have to be modified somewhat before it will be worthy of acceptance.

There are some ballads in the Child collection² which are not of anonymous origin, or which are anonymous only in part,³ most of them being broadsides, the work of public hack-writers. As for this problem, two solutions offer themselves. Perhaps Professor Child made a slip in admitting them into the collection; or perhaps, because they deal with kindred subjects, they have been drawn in by the attraction of the undoubted anonymous ones. In any case, they belong to a different school, anonymous only in part, a school which should be kept distinct from the purely anonymous one.

¹ *Ballad and Epic; a Study in the Development of the Narrative Art*, Boston, 1907.

² Cf. No. 154, in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. So in all cases where numbers are cited.

³ Buchan's version of No. 94.

Except in cases where a broadside imitates an existing ballad or where a ballad springs from a broadside, there is always a marked difference in the productions of the two schools. In general I shall slight the broadsides, and shall make but glancing reference to them in this discussion; for they do not illustrate any of my points except by contrast.

It is apparent, even to the listless reader of English and Scottish ballads, that they fall into several well-defined groups. Professor Hart classifies¹ them into four main divisions: (1) Simple Ballads; (2) Border and Outlaw Ballads, including (a) Border Ballads, (b) the Robin Hood Cycle, and (c) "Adam Bell"; (3) the "Gest"; and (4) Heroic Ballads, more common in the literature of some other countries. The classification is good as far as it goes; but I wish to provide for a few exceptions. The Riddle Ballads, such as Nos. 1, 2, and 3, and probable survivals of the dance-dialogues, such as No. 95, are not essentially narrative; the story, as far as any exists, serves merely to furnish a background for the dialogue. Perhaps also the comic tendencies of some of the later ballads justify putting them in a separate class; for the earlier ballads are mostly tragic, and deal not with a mere anecdote but with a story of real significance. Even after limiting ourselves to the simple ballads, we have still something like four rather distinct types to deal with: the perfect simple ballads, the fragmentary simple ballads, the Buchan versions, and the broadsides.

In many of the fragments, the story has been lost so completely that only a name or two serves to associate these fragments with the complete ballads. In such cases, there is a marked tendency for these chips to lose the chief characteristics of the old block, and to become lyrical in character. It is the story which seems to drop out first; it is the situation, with the lyrical comment upon it, which remains. This is a point which directly controverts the theory of Professor Hart, and one which he seems to have overlooked.

The narrative qualities of the broadside have been mentioned before. Let me repeat here that except in those cases where they were but reworkings of existing poetry of the anonymous school, the broadsides were innocent of every one of the artistic devices

¹ *Ballad and Epic*, p. 4.

which characterized the best ballads. There is an almost invariable tendency to subordinate the story to an ulterior consideration by appending a sort of moral. If the morals were good, such supplements would still detract from the narrative power of the poems; but in almost every case the conclusion is either irrelevant or is so feebly and insincerely phrased that it is painful.

But the worst productions of the broadside school are not to be compared with the offerings of Buchan. Sometimes Motherwell is just as bad an offender, but in many of these cases he seems to have been led astray by bad company.¹ I have collected statistics (omitted here for brevity's sake) which show that Buchan's ballads are the longest, the fullest, and seemingly the most carefully padded of any; and a little reading should also convince anyone that they are also the worst. Is there a fundamental connection between this fulness and the coexistent badness of these productions? Professor Child seems to imply² that there is, when he states that "the silliness and fulsome vulgarity of Buchan's ballads often enough make one wince or sicken, and many of them came through bad mouths and bad hands: we have even positive proof in one instance of imposture." In another place³ his opinion is even more unmistakable: "Buchan, who may be relied upon to produce a longer ballad than anybody else, has 'Young Waters' in thirty-nine stanzas, 'the only complete version he had ever met with.' Of the copy I will only say that everything which is not in the edition of 1755 (itself a little the worse for editing) is a counterfeit of the lowest description. Nevertheless it is given in the appendix; for much the same reason that thieves are photographed."

Returning to Professor Hart's classification,⁴ it is noticeable that there is here not only a difference of technique but also a difference of subject-matter. The simple ballads are concerned almost solely with the relations between men and women; in the vast majority of cases the story deals with the domestic relation. Even in "Sir Patrick Spens,"⁵ where it would seem that women could be excluded entirely, we find the mention of them more persistent than any other part of the ballad. The skipper may be Sir Patrick

¹ Nos. 96, C; 110, E.

² *Ibid.*, II, 110.

³ II, 342.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 4.

⁵ No. 58.

or Sir Andrew, but the ladies remain. This is in sharp contrast with the border and outlaw ballads, where some one vigorous action is the center of interest; or the "Gest," where the life-history of a hero is to be considered; or the heroic ballads, which treat of the heroic exploit, or a series of exploits. This difference of subject-matter alone is so complete as to serve in itself to distinguish the school of the simple ballads from the other three. We have here our single school of romantic anonymous poetry, and our threefold school of the poetry of heroic adventure.¹

There are equally striking differences of technique, among which may be mentioned those of diction, of characterization (as far as any exists), and, in many cases, of the movement of the verse; but it is with the differences of the narrative method that we are primarily concerned. In many of the best and most characteristic of the simple ballads, the central action or central motive is omitted entirely, or else is withheld to furnish a climax at the end. Sometimes this suspense exists only for the characters in the story, but more often and more effectively it exists for readers and actors alike. There is also little effort on the part of the balladist to attribute speeches to the characters who utter them, or to supply transitions in the story.² Leaping, broken narration is characteristic, rather than exceptional. In each of the other types the contrary is true. The story proceeds smoothly, especially in the "Gest"; there is no omission of the central action; and suspense, when it does exist, is incidental rather than fundamental. There is no effort to select a striking situation and linger upon it, but rather the action begins at the beginning of things and proceeds in an orderly fashion to the end.

Professor Hart concludes, for these and similar reasons, that the simple ballads, which were last to receive public notice, nevertheless represent an earlier stage in the process of development; and that the longer and more developed forms (i.e., the border and outlaw ballads, the "Gest," and the heroic ballads) represent a higher form of narrative art, and a later period of ballad evolution.

¹ The ballads of Christian and knightly legend are not classified here, because it seems to me that they do not belong within the scope of this discussion.

² *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 91, 117.

This view is acknowledged to be startling, and it seems to me to be equally false.

I shall quote from his own conclusion:

As a result, now, of the poet's increasingly exclusive possession of the material, of his disinclination to limit himself to matters of common knowledge, with his increasingly rational method, elaboration comes more and more to take the place of the peculiar omission and suggestion of the simple ballad this elaboration, combined with the tendency to unite two or more stories into a single whole, necessitates a greater length, and greater and greater demands are made upon the poet's architectural power. It is easy for the simple ballad, with its love of symmetry and repetition, to achieve, within its narrow limits, a remarkable perfection of structure; the compiler of the *Gest*, striving to unite a series of independent incidents, solves a more difficult problem.¹

Is it not an evidence of bad art, rather than of advanced development, that the compiler of the "Gest" undertakes to put together so much unrelated material? If the smooth linking of unrelated facts were the supreme test, then the chronicles and historical plays would be among the most artistic productions in the language. Some of our elder poets attempted to write histories of the world in verse, "striving to unite a series of independent incidents," and certainly contending with a "difficult problem"; but do we rank these writings as high art? Is there any underlying unity in these rambling narratives which would justify one in calling them epics, in the sense that the *Iliad* is an epic? Or even granting the use of the term, is not the epic, historically, a rather primitive form of literature, giving way in later times to shorter and more perfect forms? With slight modification, we may read Macaulay's words: "As civilization advances, *epic* poetry almost necessarily declines." On the contrary, the simple ballad, with its selection of details, with its deliberately chosen situation, with its antecedent action implied or but slightly expressed, with its resultant action in many cases merely foreshadowed, with its powerful suspense, is in close conformity with the principles which underlie the modern short-story, the most highly developed form of the narrative art. It is strange that Professor Hart, who has made a special study of the short-story, should have overlooked the resemblance. If the principles

¹ *Ballad and Epic*, p. 310.

which he lays down for the ballads be brought over and applied to prose narration, then we must conclude that greater demands were made upon the authors in the rambling narratives of former times than in a story like *The Necklace* of De Maupassant. For in the first instance, we have Professor Hart's series of "independent incidents"; in the second, we have a few carefully chosen and closely related ones. In the first case, there is a commendable effort to tell everything that happened; in the second, there is a deliberate and exclusive choice of two situations for emphatic treatment. In the first instance, we have the story told in chronological order; in the second, we have complete suspense of the central point of interest, which fact is not even hinted at until the last sentence. There is another striking resemblance between the simple ballad and the short-story. In both cases the central action is not only suspended to the close, but is often projected on beyond it.

The simple ballads show another tendency, mentioned previously in another connection,¹ which indicates that they are of a late period of development. They have a marked tendency to dwell on the mood of the principal actor, and upon the situation, in many cases to the detriment or loss of the narrative aspect. The second part of "Fair Helen," which is in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, though not in Professor Child's collection, is so intent upon the lyrical phase of the situation, regardless of past and future action, that it ceases to be a narrative and passes over into the realm of lyric poetry; and even "Sir Patrick Spens," perhaps the most perfect and at the same time the most typical of the best simple ballads, is not far removed from *The Three Fishers* of Charles Kingsley. It is a well-known fact, attested by the literary history of every nation, that the intense lyric is one of the latest poetic forms to develop, as more purely narrative types are among the earliest of all. It might be argued that the more direct narration of the *Odyssey* is a later development than the leaping and seemingly unrelated narration of Pindar; but history speaks louder than speculation. It seems, then, that though the "Gest" may represent a relatively high development of its type in narrative art, the kind itself is an early one historically and a crude one artistically; whereas, when we make due allowances

¹ *Supra*, p. 5.

for the peculiarities of style which now seem strange to us because they are characteristic of a lost school, the simple ballads are found to be in conformity with the principles which underlie the most highly developed form of the narrative art, and show in addition that leaning toward the lyric which is characteristic of the most intense poetry which deals with a single situation.

Having now outlined our general theory of the ballad, let us come to a consideration of the particular instances in which this suppression of the central action occurs. Restricting ourselves to the better ones of the simple ballads—for it is only here that the device is employed to any considerable extent—we find that, as in the case of all schools, some of the poets used the approved methods with effect, others bungled them, and still others failed to make any use of the most powerful of all ballad devices—the omission of the central action, including the kindred device of suspense.

There are four main divisions of the examples of omission and suspense: minor omissions, suspense, omission of the central motive, and omission of the central action. The term "minor omissions" includes not only the leaving-out of connecting passages of various sorts—natural enough in narration of a leaping type—but also the omission of details which are subordinated for artistic purpose. In "Brown Adam" (No. 98, A) we are told simply that—

He's gard him leave his bow, his bow,
He's gard him leave his bran;
He's gard him leave a better pledge,
Four fingers o' his right han.

The fight has been passed over here, because we are concerned only with the results of it. This is in sharp contrast with the border and outlaw ballads, where the fight's the thing, and with less artistic examples of the simple ballads, where the details of a fight are allowed to assume undue prominence in the story. There is also a tendency to pass over the act of death, and even when the death is over, to make only glancing reference to it. This is in direct opposition to the love of detail of Buchan's versions and the broadsides, but it is nevertheless very common. Sometimes this description seems to have been lost¹, but in other cases² the omission is

¹ No. 92, C, D, E, etc.

² Nos. 64, A; 67, A; 69, B.

intentional. The clerk of Owsenford, instead of telling his wife that the two sons are dead, says:

I've putten them to a deeper lair,
An to a higher school.

Not only is the news of the death withheld, but in many cases the death itself is left to be inferred. In "Fair Janet" (64, A) Willie gives parting instructions and then is buried. In "Glasgerion" (67, A) the hero prepares to slay himself, and then we leap to a reflection on the whole tragedy. In "Lady Alice" (85, B) the lady predicts her death, and then is buried. In "Lamkin" (93) some of the versions are so fragmentary as to omit all account of the killing, which is here the central action. Is this omission a stronger device than detailed narration would afford? Obviously it is. The only objection to the method is that it may make the story too vague and obscure if carried to an excess.

Our second division, suspense, covers a much greater field, including four principal varieties. These are as follows: suspense for one or more of the characters, but not for the reader; suspense of a single detail of the story; suspense of the general significance of the story; and suspense of the identity of the principal character. The last two divisions overlap, but they may be considered separately to advantage. In "The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington" (105) it is quite clear to us that the girl is in disguise, but the apprentice is made to think she is dead. It is well to note that the only version of this is a broadside, and that the conclusion is spoiled by the unnecessary stanza:

O farewell grief, and welcome joy,
Ten thousand times and more!
For now I have seen my own true-love,
That I thought I should have seen no more.

In "The Gay Goshawk" (96, A) the suspense for the father and brothers is pretty effective: and the disillusionment of the lady in "Old Robin of Portingale" (80) is really powerful:

Upp then went that ladie light,
With torches burning bright;
She thought to have brought Sir Gyles a drinke,
But she found her own wedd knight.

And the first thing that this ladye stumbled upon
 Was of Sir Gyles his foote;
 Sayes, "Euer alacke, and woe is me,
 Here lies my sweete heart-roote!"

But perhaps the most successful suspense for one or more of the characters is to be found in "Clerk Saunders" (69, A), where, after a definite statement for the reader that Saunders is slain, the poem continues in this fashion, lingering not upon the mere details but upon the poetic quality of the tragedy:

And they lay still, and slepted sound,
 Until the day began to daw;
 And kindly till him did she say
 "It's time, trew-love, ye were awa."

Suspense of a single detail is generally employed for the purpose of adornment, or what seems to have been considered ornamental. In one form or another, it is found almost universally in the simple ballads. It is generally of a conventional type of elaboration, which Professor Gummere calls incremental repetition.¹ In this sort of suspense, the balladist, or one of the characters, mentions two or more rather irrelevant things, and then comes suddenly to the point with a swoop like that with which a hawk descends upon chickens. The device is frequently used for padding, especially in the hands of Buchan; but sometimes it is really effective, as in the famous stanza from "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard" (81, A):

Methinks I hear the thresel-cock,
 Methinks I hear the jaye;
 Methinks I hear my Lord Barnard,
 And I would I were away.

Suspense of identity is used for a variety of purposes. In "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" (110) and "The Beggar Laddie" (280) it serves to give piquancy to rather scurrilous tales which are not entirely redeemed by attempts at romantic conclusions. In "Willie and Earl Richard's Daughter" (102, A) the secret that the child is Robin Hood is withheld until the end; but in the Buchan version (102, B) the principal point of interest is exposed in the first stanza, with the infallible instinct of a peddler. In "Fair

¹ *The Popular Ballad*, p. 42.

"Annie" (62) and "The Lass of Roch Royal" (76) the whole story hangs upon the concealment of the identity of Fair Annie, in the first case, and of the mother in the second; and yet we observe that in most versions the identity of Annie is hinted at as soon as the bride arrives, and in the latter case the imposture is detected long before the story closes. In "Child Maurice" (83, A) we find perhaps the most effective use of suspense which occurs anywhere in the ballads; here the relationship of mother and son is not only the keynote of everything in the whole ballad, but it is withheld perfectly until near the end, to be uttered in a marvelous stanza:

But when shee looked on Child Maurice head,
Shee neurer spake words but three:
"I neuer beare no child but one,
And you haue slaine him truly."

In the next two stanzas we are told that she is dead. Could a more perfect bit of narrative art be imagined? In some of the poorer versions of this ballad (83, B, C, F) the secret is given away by Child Maurice before the climax. By comparing these versions with that of the Percy MS, we are made to realize that the narrative of suspense surpasses straight narration in the "architectural power" mentioned by Professor Hart.

It will be noticed that in the preceding instances, the significance of the whole story rested upon the suspense of identity; but there are other cases in which suspense of the former exists independently. In one version of "Young Benjie" (86, B) the story is not begun until the brothers are searching for the drowned body of Maisry, and considerable antecedent action makes more or less suspense necessary. In "Lord Randal" (12) the suspense is an integral part of the ballad; and in "Edward" (13, B) this is coupled with unusual felicity of phrase, and dramatic interest of situation.

Omission of the central motive is rare, except in fragments, and it is safe to suppose that it is due in any case either to loss of explanatory stanzas or to artistic suppression. In some versions of "Lamkin" (93, D, E, G) the first stanzas, telling of the original quarrel, have almost certainly been lost by accident. In some cases the result of this is to make a sort of bugbear of Lamkin, to frighten children, and the tragedy of the lord's injustice to the mason and the terrible

revenge which followed is quite gone. There can be no doubt that in this instance, and in many similar ones, where the character of the story is changed, the omission of the central motive is a source of weakness. In the case of the seemingly intentional omission of the motive, such as that in "Young Johnstone" (86), the device is an element of strength. Though it confuses us to some extent, the mystery of the unexplained killing gives an added emotional appeal. The lady's dying question is made more pathetic by Johnstone's evasion of it.

We come now to the last of our four divisions, omission of the central action. In this, as in the preceding, we find instances due to accidental and others to artistic suppression. In one version of "Lamkin" (93, Q) we have all the important action lost; in one version of "Johnie Scot" (99, M) the same is true. In the last version of "Glasgerion" (67, C) the poem does not become a fragment, but instead the omission serves in a way to increase the effectiveness of the whole. In "The Wife of Usher's Well" (79, A) there is a suggestion in the last stanza that may be taken to indicate that either the central action or the central motive for action has been omitted, though it may mean nothing more than a pathetic farewell to the recollections of childhood:

Fare ye weel, my mother dear!
Fareweel to barn and byre!
And fare ye weel, the bonny lass
That kindles my mother's fire!

This omission, if omission it is, throws the whole story in doubt, but it makes a better poem of the ballad. But the best illustration of artistic omission occurs in "Sir Patrick Spens" (56, A, a). This is perhaps the shortest of all the very great ballads, only eleven stanzas; and the swiftness of its catastrophe, its certainty, its power—this is no less notable than the method by which it is obtained. It takes us but two lines to get well into the scene of action; in the last line of the stanza we have an indication of the drift of the story; in the following stanza the hero is introduced; and by the seventh, we finish with the forebodings, and are ready for the four final stanzas of regretful contemplation. Of action expressed there is little; this is scarcely a narrative at all, but rather it is one of those

ballads that are so intense as to become fused into a lyrical quality. This is the sort of thing that Professor Hart seems to consider inferior, more primitive, a lower form of art than the jog-trot doggerel of the Robin Hood cycle. The full force of the method employed in the A version can best be appreciated by comparing it with that of the *Minstrelsy* (56, H). The latter is much longer, is told in straight narrative order, and is vigorous to a high degree; but we miss the irresistible imaginative suggestiveness of the A version. However, if this lyrical quality be allowed to predominate too far; if, as in "The Twa Corbies" (26) or "Fair Helen,"¹ we leave out the normal beginning which clings to "Sir Patrick Spens" and serves to give it a semi-narrative character; and if we begin frankly at the end, as both of the former poems do, then we have a lyrical poem pure and simple. It is notable that Palgrave includes "The Twa Corbies" and "Fair Helen" in his matchless little anthology of English lyrics but does not take in "Sir Patrick Spens."

Let us pause now to recapitulate and summarize:

1. Ballads may be told in straight narrative fashion and yet be very effective, as "Child Waters" (62, A). Here the intrinsic strength of the plot, the simple majesty of the diction, and the climactic arrangement of the details serve to make the ballad effective. But if the plot were less significant, or if the tone of the whole were not so well maintained, there would be nothing in it to make for strength.

2. Minor omissions occur in almost all of the ballads, and are used for euphemism in mentioning unpleasant occurrences or for subordination in dealing with matters of varying degrees of importance. Such omissions not only economize time, but they also make a greater or less appeal to the imagination of the reader, or hearer, perhaps I should say.

3. Suspense is of several degrees and varieties. To some extent it is found in almost all of the ballads; for in any narrative a limited degree of it is almost unavoidable. But the artistic use of suspense is a means of securing unusual power, and it occurs for the most part only in the best ballads. It is found chiefly in one of two phases: suspense of a single detail, suspense which exists for one or more of

¹ *Supra.*, p. 8.

the characters but not for the reader, and suspense of the general significance of the story, which frequently appears in the special phase of the suspense of the identity of the principal character. The finest example is that of "Child Maurice,"¹ where by the sudden revelation of the key fact of the story, we are obliged to reconstruct our conception of the whole, at the moment of greatest intensity. In this connection it will be noted that those of the versions that fail to employ suspense or omission are infinitely weaker than those that make use of them.

4. Suppression of the central motive is rare, and if badly handled it results in obscurity. It exists principally in fragments, and is there apparently accidental; though even in those cases, the fact that the motive drops out may be significant.

5. Complete suppression of the central action, except in fragments, is rare, and is due to consummate art; consequently it is not to be found in the ballads of heroic adventure, nor in the independent broadsides, nor in the worse sort of simple ballads. Most of even the best simple ballads do not omit the central action. Complete omission by its very nature is essential and structural, and determines the character of the ballad; whereas suspense is generally subordinate and decorative. But the examples of complete suspense are much more numerous than those of omission, and fall into three classes: suspense for wit flavored with a low sort of romance, as in "The Beggar Laddie" (280) and "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" (110); suspense for a romantic conclusion, as in "Bonnie Lizie Baillie" (227) and "Glasgow Peggy" (228); and suspense for tragedy, as in "Child Maurice" and "Edward." There is a marked difference between these two last. In "Child Maurice" the suspense of a fact leads to a tragedy; in "Edward," the action has already occurred, and we are simply told of it in the most effective way. Complete suspense, then, is to be considered a more frequently used and more typical device than omission of the central action, and it is more nearly in conformity with the methods of modern narrative art.

6. Omission of the central action requires more or less deviation from the normal path of the simple ballad, and presupposes on the

¹ *Supra*, p. 12.

part of its author at least a limited degree of the highest poetic art. It presupposes, also, no small degree of appreciation on the part of those who perpetuate it by oral transmission. The intense suppression of those details on which the unlettered mind loves to linger does not find ready recognition among such people as the milkmaids and female servants and very old men who furnished so many of the ballad versions; and if Buchan's collector had met with such a monstrosity, he would no doubt have hastened to fill in the vacancy. There is more reason than is at first apparent why the best versions of "Edward" and "Sir Patrick Spens" occur only in the *Reliques* of the cultivated Thomas Percy. The suspense of the former would be a little beyond the ordinary mind (though "Lord Randal," with its excess of detail and contagious refrain, has remained very popular despite the suspense employed); and as for the latter, what village gossip would be content to sing the fate of Sir Patrick in eleven stanzas, omitting all mention of the rebellious cabin boy and the floating mattresses, when she might just as easily, and with much greater satisfaction, retain all those delectable details and spin the yarn out to a decent length?

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BEOWULF AND THE FEAST OF BRICRIU

I

In an article published in the *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift* for February, 1909, Professor Deutschbein of Leipzig calls attention to what he regards as a number of indications of marked influence exerted by the old Irish saga *Fled Bricrend, The Feast of Bricriu*, on the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*. If he is right, he has made an interesting discovery. His principal statements are examined in the following pages.

The story of *The Feast of Bricriu*, summarized from Dr. George Henderson's translation, London, 1899, is as follows:

Bricriu of the evil tongue held a great feast for Conchobar mac Nessa and all the Ultonians. For the entertainment of the guests a magnificent structure was built, and a year was consumed in making the preparations for the feast.

At a gathering of Ulster men Bricriu issued invitations for the feast; but the Ulster men feared that disaster would overtake them if they accepted the invitation. Bricriu, however, threatened to stir up deadly strife among them if they refused; and they concluded to accept, provided Bricriu would give hostages not to disturb the peace among them. This he consented to do.

Bricriu nevertheless proceeded to fan the flame of rivalry among Loigaire the Triumphant, Conall the Victorious, and Cuchulainn; and the three engaged in a series of contests to determine which should be awarded the championship of Emain.

Not satisfied with stirring up strife among these three men, Bricriu incited their wives to engage in a contest in regard to precedence in entering the feast-hall. In the contest each of the women advanced her claims to the coveted position in verse.

Loigaire and Conall each made an opening in the side of the house to provide an entrance for his wife, but Cuchulainn made an entrance by raising one side of the house so high that the stars of heaven were visible below the wattle. When the side was let down, it entered seven feet into the ground. As a result the house was lop-sided, and

all the Ulster men could not restore it to its former position. Cuchulainn, however, performed the feat alone.

But the supremacy among the three heroes was regarded as still undecided, and they were ordered by Conchobar to "Go to Curoi mac Dairi, the man who will intervene." They started out in their chariots, Loigaire first, Conall next, and Cuchulainn last. Loigaire arrived at a meadow, and, on account of a dense mist, had to halt. A huge ugly giant, owner of the meadow, came bearing a ponderous club. After a struggle with the giant, Loigaire fled. Conall arrived at the same place, struggled with the giant, and fled. Later Cuchulainn arrived, overcame the giant, and regained Loigaire's and Conall's chariots, charioteers, and accoutrements and returned them to their owners. Bricriu now wished to award the championship to Cuchulainn; but the other two objected, because, as they said, the giant was a fairy friend of Cuchulainn.

It was then decided that the three heroes should proceed to the abode of Ailill and Mève. At Ailill's they feasted for three days. One night as they sat eating, three huge cats were let loose to attack them. Loigaire and Conall fled. The cats attacked Cuchulainn, who gave one of them a blow on the head with his sword, but the sword glanced off without inflicting a wound. The cats sat down, but Cuchulainn also remained. In the morning the cats were gone.

Loigaire and Conall refused, however, to yield the supremacy to Cuchulainn. They were not contending with beasts, they said, but with men.

Later the three went to the house where the youths were performing the wheel-feat. Loigaire tossed the wheel half-way up the house; Conall tossed it as high as the ridgepole; Cuchulainn tossed it so that it dislodged the ridgepole, passed through the roof, fell outside, and sank a cubit into the ground. Cuchulainn then took one hundred and fifty needles, one from each of as many women, tossed the needles into the air so that each needle passed into the eye of another, and then returned to each woman her own needle.

Mève ordered the three heroes to go to her foster-father and step-mother, Ercol and Garmna. On the way they ran a race at the Cruachan gathering, Cuchulainn gaining the victory.

Arriving at Ercol and Garmna's the men were despatched to

Samera, who sent them to the Amazons of the Glen. The Amazons deprived Loigaire, who arrived first, of his accoutrements; Conall, who came next, was deprived of his spear, but retained his sword; Cuchulainn, the last to arrive, though hard pressed at first, defeated them completely.

The contestants returned to the abode of Ercol, who challenged them to a combat with himself and his horse—man against man, and horse against horse. Ercol defeated Loigaire, and his horse killed Loigaire's horse. The same fate befell Conall and his horse. But Cuchulainn's horse killed Ercol's horse, and Cuchulainn defeated Ercol and took him bound behind his chariot to Emain, whither Loigaire and Conall had fled. Still Loigaire and Conall refused to admit that Cuchulainn had proved his superiority.

The three then went to Yellow, son of Fair, who sent them to Terror, son of Great Fear. Terror said, "I have an ax, and the man into whose hands it shall be put is to cut off my head today, I to cut off his tomorrow." Loigaire declined to agree to this. Cuchulainn, however, consented, and surreptitiously substituting his own ax for the enchanted ax of the giant, cut off the head of the giant, who the next day, on account of Cuchulainn's courage, merely touched his ax to Cuchulainn's neck without inflicting a wound.

The giant awarded the championship to Cuchulainn; but Loigaire and Conall again objected, and the three were sent to Curoi. At that time, Curoi was in a distant land, and it was his custom every night to chant a spell over his fort till it revolved so rapidly that no one could find the entrance to it after sunset. The three heroes were to guard the fort, one night each, taking turn according to seniority. It is this portion of the saga that is said to resemble the Grendel-story in *Beowulf*.

Loigaire's turn came first. In the latter part of the night he saw a giant (Seath) approaching the fort from the loch. The giant was exceedingly large and ugly. He seemed to reach to the sky, and the sea was visible between his legs. He came with his hands full of stripped oaks, each felled at a single stroke and large enough to make a load for a team of six. Two or three of these stakes he hurled at Loigaire, but missed him each time. In return Loigaire threw his spear at the giant, but also missed.

The giant then reached across three ridges and seized Loigaire, who, though large and imposing in stature, was but as a year-old child in the giant's clutch. After rolling him around in his hand, the giant threw him over the wall of the fort and he dropped outside into the mire.

Conall kept watch the second night, but he shared the fate of Loigaire.

The third night Cuchulainn kept watch. "That night the three Goblins [Greys] of Sescind Uairbeoil, the three Ox-feeders [?] of Bregia, and the three sons of Big-Fist the Siren met by appointment to plunder the hold. This, too, was the night of which it was foretold, that the Spirit of the Lake by the fort would devour the whole host of the hold, man and beast." Cuchulainn killed all nine. He likewise killed two other nines that came to attack him, and threw them all in a heap.

Late in the night a monster appeared. He seemed to be thirty cubits in height, and sprang toward the fort with mouth opened so wide that one of the palaces could go into his gullet. Cuchulainn leaped into the air, circled swiftly around the monster's head, twined his arms about his neck, and stuck his hand into the monster's gullet and tore out his heart. The monster fell to the ground and bruised his shoulder. Cuchulainn hacked the monster's body to pieces, but took his head with him and threw it on the heap of skulls of those he had slain before.

At dawn he saw another giant (Seath) approaching from the sea. The giant hurled a large branch at him, but it missed its mark. Cuchulainn threw a spear at the giant, but failed to hit him. Then Cuchulainn leaped into the air and circled about the giant's head so swiftly that the giant became giddy. Cuchulainn demanded the fulfilment of three wishes, namely: "The sovereignty of Erin's Heroes be henceforth mine; the Champion's Portion without dispute; the precedence of my wife o'er Ultonia's ladies forever." The giant agreed to the demand and vanished.

Cuchulainn thought that Loigaire and Conall, who had been thrown out of the fort by the giant, had leaped over the wall. He also tried to leap over the wall, and, after a number of unsuccessful attempts, finally performed the feat.

The saga closes with a final contest at Emain. This is only another version of the story of the giant who offers to let his head be cut off in exchange for the privilege of cutting off his opponent's head. The giant in this version is Curoi mac Dairi in disguise. He awards the championship to Cuchulainn and the precedence among the ladies to his wife.

This summary is somewhat lengthy, but a brief summary would not give the reader the proper conception of the saga as a whole, and would not be sufficient to enable him to form an opinion as to whether or not the resemblances between *The Feast of Bricriu* and *Beowulf* are worthy of mention.

The features of the story of the fight with the giant in *The Feast of Bricriu* that resemble the Grendel-story are as follows: When Cuchulainn guards the fort, two giants come from a neighboring loch and attack him. Cuchulainn slays the first one, who is thirty cubits in height, and when the giant falls he bruises his shoulder. Later Cuchulainn cuts off the giant's head and takes it with him. Other warriors have been overcome by the second giant (Scath), but Cuchulainn defeats him.

Otherwise there is nothing in the one story to suggest the other. In fact, all other features of the two stories are widely different. There is no resemblance between the proper nouns in the two stories. In *The Feast of Bricriu* the fort is not represented as having suffered from the depredations of a monster, and it is not for the purpose of aiding Curoi that Cuchulainn makes his appearance. Curoi is fully able to defend himself. The men overcome by Scath are not Curoi's men, but rivals of Cuchulainn; nor are they slain. They have engaged in another contest with Cuchulainn and are again defeated. Curoi is a magician and in no way resembles Hrothgar. The fort of Curoi is not like Heorot, nor is it used for similar purposes. Neither in regard to the weapons employed nor in method of warfare does either of the giants resemble Grendel. They are not proof against weapons, nor is either of them defeated in the manner that Grendel is. They are common giants. The head of one is cut off, which is the fate that usually befalls giants who are slain by popular heroes; the other vanishes through the employment of magic. That the abode of the giants who attack Curoi's fort is said to be in the loch is

nothing more than what is said of one of the other giants that the three heroes encounter. Furthermore, it is not Scath, the giant that has overcome Loigaire and Conall, that loses his head and bruises his shoulder, but a giant that has not appeared before the night that Cuchulainn keeps watch. The adventure with the Goblins, Ox-feeders, and sons of Big-Fist is wanting in *Beowulf*, as is also the prophecy that the Spirit of the Lake would devour the whole host of the hold, man and beast.

The story of Grendel's mother has no counterpart in *The Feast of Bricriu*. It cannot be said that Cuchulainn's fight with Scath corresponds to the fight with Grendel's mother, for Scath must then be identified with Grendel in one part of the story and with his mother in another. Furthermore, there seems to be no relationship between Scath and the giant who precedes him, and certainly not that of mother and son.

There is no employment of magic in *Beowulf*, as in *The Feast of Bricriu* (cf. the whirling of the fort). Cuchulainn has none of the characteristics of Beowulf. Of course, both are capable of doing things beyond the power of other men; otherwise they would not be heroes. But the fantastic feats of Cuchulainn are altogether without a counterpart in what is recorded of Beowulf. It might also be noted that Cuchulainn and Scath exchange a number of words and that the giant has the magic power of granting wishes and vanishing in a supernatural manner from human sight. These things have no counterpart in *Beowulf*.

It is said that the first giant is thirty cubits tall and that he bruises his shoulder when he falls. These things remind us of statements made about Grendel and Beowulf. Grendel is said to have killed thirty warriors the first time he attacked the Danes, and Beowulf is said to have the strength of thirty men. Grendel also meets his death by having his arm torn off at the shoulder. But these slight resemblances between the two stories can only be accidental. Furthermore, it is not Scath whose shoulder is bruised, but a giant that has just appeared on the scene for the first time; and the accident occurs after the giant's heart is torn out and he is deprived of life. It cannot be compared with the tearing off of Grendel's arm. Neither can the tearing out of the giant's heart be

compared with the tearing off of Grendel's arm. The one is unnatural and fantastic; the other, though unusual, has quite the air of reality.

It might be said that in essence each of the stories represents a popular hero defending a king and his fort, or palace. But even in this respect the parallel between the Scath-story and the Grendel-story is far from perfect; for Curoi, with his magic power, is able to defend himself.

In view of the many striking differences between the Scath- and Grendel-stories and the impossibility of drawing a consistent parallel between them, it is altogether improbable that one owes its origin to the other or has been influenced by it.

But both *Beowulf* and *The Feast of Bricriu* are of interest to the student of Scandinavian history, the one being practically the earliest source of Scandinavian history in any Germanic tongue and the other showing distinct traces of Scandinavian influence.

In considering *The Feast of Bricriu* from the point of view of possible Scandinavian influence, our attention is first attracted to the fight of the three heroes with Ercol. Ercol challenged the three champions in turn to a combat between himself and them, and between his horse and their horses. Ercol's horse killed the horses of Loigaire and Conall, but was killed by Cuchulainn's horse. The horse-fight feature of the story was probably borrowed from the Norsemen. From the earliest times horse-fighting was a national sport among the Norsemen, and it did not become extinct in Norway till 1820. The fights took place each year in August and ended with races. Horse-fighting is not known as a native sport in Ireland. In Old Norse the meeting for engaging in horse-fights is called *hestafing*, and the fact that early Irish contains the word *est* (horse), borrowed from O.N. *hestr*, is noteworthy. In Uist the word *oda* has been in use as a name for horse-races. *Oda* seems to be from O.N. *at* (horse-fight) (see Henderson's translation of *The Feast of Bricriu*, pp. xxxviii and 191).

That it was possible for Norse elements to enter into the Irish saga is evident. The oldest manuscript of *The Feast of Bricriu* dates from the year 1100; but by the year 800 the Norsemen had appeared in Ireland, where they soon formed settlements; and in 853 a Norse king ascended the throne in Dublin.

That there are Norse elements in Irish literature is, however, not only possible; it is absolutely certain. To illustrate this I can do no better than give a few extracts from Dr. Alexander Bugge's *Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland: II, Norse Elements in Gaelic Traditions of Modern Times* (pp. 14 ff.). The extracts are as follows:

The sway of the Norsemen in Erin, and in the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, has left its traces in many other ancient and modern tales and sagas. Professor Zimmer, through his works, has thrown a new light upon this subject. Zimmer says in his paper *Ueber die Frühesten Berührungen der Iren mit den Nordgermanen* (p. 34), "The notion of a giant is expressed in all Irish and Gaelic dialects by the same word *fomor*." This word has also another meaning, namely, a sea-robbler. Even in the oldest Irish sagas, the terror-struck Irish describe the tall, gigantic figures of the Norsemen. From this Zimmer rightly concludes that the conception of a *fomor* originates from the Viking age. This theory is confirmed by Dr. Joyce in his *Old Celtic Romances* (p. 405), where he says: "Fomor, the simple form of this word, means, according to the old etymologists, a sea-robbler. The word is also used to denote a giant or gigantic champion. The Fomorians of Irish History were sea-robbers, who infested the coasts, and indeed the interior of Ireland, for a long series of years, and at one time fortified themselves in Tory Island. They are stated to have come from Lochlann in the north of Europe."

But this is not enough to explain the meaning of a *Fomor*. The Fomorians are always of a superhuman size, their figure is always badly proportioned and clumsy, and they are often stupid and easily duped. I am inclined to believe that the Irish have heard from the Norsemen tales of their giants (*jotnar*), and that the idea of Fomorians has been developed through a confusion of giants and Vikings. The memory of the old Berserks has perhaps also contributed to form the picture. What Zimmer also relates from the Book of Leinster about Cuchulainn is namely, that he "in der Wutverrum grösser wurde als ein *fomor na fer mara* (fomor of the sons of the sea)." This word *Wutverrum* is nothing more than the fury of the berserks, who in their rage became big and terrible, like trolls and ogres. . . .

"When the Dedannans held sway in Erin, a prosperous freeborn king ruled over them, whose name was Nuada of the Silver Hand. In the time of this king, the Fomorians from Lochlann, in the north, oppressed the Dedannans, and forced them to pay heavy tributes. . . . The tribute had to be paid every year at the Hill of Urna; and if any one refused or neglected to pay his part, his nose was cut off by the Fomorian tyrants."—Translated by Dr. Joyce, in his *Celtic Romances*, from the Book of Lecan; and quoted by Bugge.

To continue the extracts from Bugge:

In this description we have a vivid picture of the sway of the Norsemen in Erin. . . .

The memory of the sway of the Norsemen seems in the same way, up to the present, to have been preserved by Gaelic popular tales. . . .

Norse elements have passed into Gaelic legend and tradition. The oldest name for Norway in the Irish sagas and traditions is, as Dr. Todd and Zimmer, in his epoch-making studies, have proved, perhaps Hiruath (i.e., Hordeland in Norway). Zimmer also quotes many most interesting passages where this name occurs in the most ancient Irish sagas in existence. . . .

The name *Lochlann* itself has always been used to denote Norway or Scandinavia. . . .

I have hitherto only mentioned the historical reminiscences of the Norsemen in Irish tales and traditions. We must remember that for centuries the Norsemen held sway in Erin, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. It is therefore easy to understand that their rule, their wars, their victories and defeats, must still be remembered in many ways. Even many of the mythical conceptions of the Irish have been formed, as I have shown, under the influence of the Norsemen, e.g. the Fomorians. . . .

The great heroic cycles of Cuchulainn and of Finn and Oisin had absorbed all the myth-developing imagination of the Irish. . . . It is therefore not likely that the Irish would borrow new myths and tales from foreign nations. . . .

Some few myths, however, seem to have come from the Norsemen to Ireland and Scotland. Professor Zimmer had proved that there must be a connection between Cuchulainn's voyage to the Kingdom of the Dead (*Scath*), and his combats with its Queen (*Scathach*), and the Scandinavian *Hel* and *Nifheimr*.—Like the hall of Utgardaloke, the capital of *Scathach* is situated in the north of *Lochlann* (Norway), and Cuchulainn comes to *Scath* from *Lochlann*.—Zimmer also believes that the tale of Sigurd, who killed the dragon Fafner, has been known in Ireland, and has influenced the myth of Finn.

In *The Feast of Bricriu* three of the giants mentioned are said to come from the loch. The Irish called Norway *Lochlann*. The fact that the fury of the invading Norsemen gave rise to a mythical race of giants (the Fomorians) in Irish folk-lore suggests the idea that the giants mentioned in *The Feast of Bricriu* have developed from the same origin. As Bugge says (see above): "The Fomorians are always of a superhuman size, their figure is badly proportioned and clumsy, and they are often stupid and easily duped." Compare this with the descriptions of the giants in *The*

Feast of Bricriu. The meadow-giant is described thus (Henderson's translation):

.... a huge giant. Not beautiful his appearance: broad (of shoulder) and fat of mouth, with sack eyes and a bristly face; ugly, wrinkled, with bushy eyebrows, hideous and horrible and strong; stubborn, violent and haughty; with big sinews and strong forearm, bold and audacious and uncouth. A shorn black patch of hair on him, a dun covering about him, a tunic over the ball of his rump; on his feet old tattered brogues, on his back a ponderous club like unto the wheel-shaft of a mill.

In the first version of the story of the giant with the ax he is described thus: "A big powerful fellow was Terror, son of Great Fear. He was used to shift his form in what shape he pleased, was wont to do tricks of magic and like arts." Scath (the giant that Dr. Deutschbein compares with Grendel) is described thus: "Exceedingly huge and ugly and horrible he thought him, for in height it seemed to him, he reached unto the sky, and the sheen (broad expanse) of the sea was visible between his legs. Thus did he come, his hands full of stripped oaks, each of which would form a burden for a wagon-team of six, at whose root not a stroke had been repeated after the single sword-stroke." In the second version of the story of the giant with the ax he is described thus: "A big uncouth fellow of exceeding ugliness drawing nigh unto them into the hall. To them it seemed as if none of the Ultonians would reach half his height. Horrible and ugly was the carle's guise. Ravenous yellow eyes he had, protruding from his head, each of the twain the size of an ox-vat. Each finger as thick as another man's wrist." Observe also that one giant keeps his mouth open till his heart is torn out, and that Cuchulainn dupes another by substituting his own ax for the enchanted one.

The awe-inspiring Vikings having come to Ireland over the sea, in addition to the tendency in all ages to people the sea with demons, it was but natural that such beings as the giants from the loch in *The Feast of Bricriu* should find a place in Irish popular tales, and that great honor should accrue to heroes who could vanquish them. Hence, it is possible that the giants in *The Feast of Bricriu* are not only due to Scandinavian influence, but are distorted memories (heightened perhaps by notions of the Norse *jotnar* that entered into the conception) of the Norsemen themselves.

It is worth noticing that Professor Windisch regards the journey to Curoi, which involves the Scath-story, as a late addition to *The Feast of Bricriu* saga. He says (*Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, I, 246-47):

Wenn man berechtigt ist, nur diejenigen Stücke in unserem Texte zu erwarten, welche in der Überschrift specializirt sind (s.d. Angabe unter I), so liegt die Vermuthung nahe, dass die Expedition zu Curoi zwar an und für sich eine alte Sage sein kann, aber nicht zum ältesten Bestande der vorliegende Compilation. . . . Dieses Fest und dieser Streit bildeten offenbar einen jener besonders anziehenden Punkte der Sagen-tradition an welche andere Sagen, und zwar hier diese, dort jene angesetzt wurden. Während das Fest und der Streit die unveränderlichen Ausgangspunkte bleiben, wussten verschiedene Erzähler verschiedene Lösungen des Conflicts und verschiedene Abenteuer, die sich an den Conflict anschlossen.

It is also interesting to note that, since the dragon Fafner, according to Zimmer's idea, has influenced the myth of Finn (of which the earliest manuscript dates from the beginning of the twelfth century), he might also, had it so chanced, have influenced *The Feast of Bricriu*. Had this occurred, there is the further possibility that he might have been used to show that also the dragon-story, if not indeed the Sigemund-episode, in *Beowulf* came from *The Feast of Bricriu*.

In view of the foregoing, the fact is that possible similarity between *Beowulf* and *The Feast of Bricriu* would rather be due to Scandinavian influence on the Irish saga than that *The Feast of Bricriu* has influenced *Beowulf*, for a number of stories that have attracted attention as being more or less similar to the Grendel-story have been found in Old Norse (see Dr. Sophus Bugge's article on *Beowulf* in *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, XII, 55 ff., and Dr. Chester N. Gould's article in *Modern Philology*, VII, 214); and these stories the Norsemen might have brought with them to Ireland. Furthermore, the *Beowulf*-story is a Scandinavian story, i.e., a story with a distinct Scandinavian historical background, with the principal scenes of action laid in Scandinavian countries (Denmark and Sweden), and representing Beowulf and the other chief characters as Scandinavians; while the Irish saga, as Dr. Deutschbein has pointed out, lacks the strong historical flavor of the Anglo-Saxon poem, and, as Professor Windisch says, is so constructed as to admit readily of additional adventures. Hence, for this reason also,

if the story of the combat with the giant Scath in *The Feast of Bricriu* were to be identified with the Grendel-story, it would be more probable that in *Beowulf* it is a native Scandinavian product than that it came originally from Ireland to England and was imported into an account of scenes and events otherwise Scandinavian.

Dr. Deutschbein draws a parallel between Unferth in *Beowulf* and Bricriu in the Irish saga. Bricriu is known as the one of the "evil tongue," and it is his successful effort to arouse jealousy and rivalry among the three heroes that gives rise to all that follows, including the fight with Scath. Bricriu's stirring up of strife is therefore an essential feature of the saga. *Unferth* indeed means *strife* (literally, *unpeace*). Unferth has also a jealous disposition; he cannot bear to have anyone surpass him in valor and achievements. But his function in the story is quite different from that of Bricriu. Beowulf's ability is unknown to the Danes. He is a stranger to them. Hrothgar has, indeed, heard that he has the strength of thirty men, and Beowulf himself upon being introduced to Hrothgar speaks in a general way of his prowess and states that he has come to put an end to the depredations of Grendel; but what reason is there to believe that he will succeed? Unferth's sharp tongue gives rise to just what is wanted, namely some proof of Beowulf's prowess. He accuses Beowulf of having been worsted in a swimming-match with Breca, and this enables Beowulf in defense to give an account of the affair that is highly favorable to himself as a magnanimous hero and that affords the Danes an assurance that he will be successful in the forthcoming combat with Grendel. After the recital of Beowulf's version of his swimming-match with Breca, the poet continues:

Then was in joy the giver of treasure,
Gray-haired and war-fierce, help he expected,
The ruler of Bright-Danes: in Beowulf heard
The people's shepherd the firm-set purpose.
There was laughter of heroes, the harp merry sounded,
Winsome were words.¹

Unferth's accusation also enlivens the poem by the introduction of an interesting episode as a sort of prelude to the main event.

¹ Quotations from *Beowulf* are from Garnett's translation.

Bricriu and Unferth both have sharp tongues, but this is not sufficient reason to suppose that the one is the prototype of the other. An evil tongue has ever been a prolific source of suspicion and strife; and literature, reflecting human nature, affords many striking examples of it besides the two under consideration.

Aside from this common possession—a sharp tongue—Bricriu and Unferth are widely different. Bricriu is a king and gives a feast; Unferth is the king's *byle*. Beowulf accuses Unferth of having slain his brother; nothing like this is told of Bricriu. Later Unferth assumes a friendly attitude toward Beowulf and lends him his sword Hrunting for use in his fight with Grendel's mother. This likewise is altogether foreign to the account of Bricriu.

Dr. Deutschbein conjectures that Unferth's relationship to Hrothgar is that of an Irish court-poet, belonging to a class whose function was, on the one hand, to compose verses in praise of their lords, and, on the other, taunting verses directed against their lords' enemies—a relationship foreign to Germanic custom, but common to, and (in the case of Unferth) adopted from, Irish custom. Furthermore, he suggests that when Hrothgar permits Unferth's rude address to the newly arrived guest, Beowulf, to pass unreproved, it is because he fears that Unferth may repay reproof with a taunting verse.

It is not likely that the poet would introduce a character so utterly foreign to Germanic custom, when everything else in the poem is in harmony with the customs of the people with which it deals. The explanation of Hrothgar's silence, in view of Unferth's conduct, is much more simple and natural than that offered by Dr. Deutschbein. When Unferth utters his taunting words, he has, in his impolite, accusing way, raised the very question (as has already been stated) that is in the minds of both the king and his thanes, namely: What reason is there to believe that this stranger (Beowulf) will be more successful in a struggle with Grendel than all others have been who have grappled with him? This is a vital question. If Beowulf can answer it satisfactorily, the taunter is sufficiently rebuked for his rudeness; and this, as the sequel shows, is most emphatically the case. If Beowulf cannot give a satisfactory answer, but must admit that he had been ignominiously defeated by an ordinary mortal, he is a vain pretender in undertaking to overcome Grendel and deserves no

sympathy. However, what the king might have said to Unferth had Beowulf shown discomfiture cannot be determined. As it is, Beowulf needs no assistance in Unferth's attempt to embarrass him.

Furthermore, if Unferth, the *pyle*, is a poet, the poem itself ought to contain some indication of it. But there is nothing to suggest that such is the case. Songs are made and sung during the rejoicing that follows Beowulf's victory over Grendel, but Unferth takes no part in making or singing them. The *scop* is the maker and singer of verses, and it is noteworthy that he has just been exercising his function when Unferth utters his disparaging remarks. It is the *scop* who is the court-poet. In the stinging rebuke that Beowulf administers to Unferth, Unferth has every incentive to answer with a taunting verse if he can; but none is forthcoming. Unferth, as the king's *pyle*, is probably his spokesman and otherwise a sort of a royal counselor or minister to whom the king intrusts various matters connected with the discharge of his duties. In l. 1169 it is said of Unferth, "Each of them trusted that he had great wisdom." Otherwise, the poet's statement in ll. 503-5,

For that he granted not that any man else
Ever more honor of this mid-earth
Should gain under heaven than he himself;

in l. 1167, "that he had great courage"; in l. 1467, that he was "mighty in strength"; together with Beowulf's statement in ll. 591-95,

I tell thee in truth, son of Ecgaf,
That never had Grendel wrought so many horrors,
The terrible monster, to thine own prince,
Shame in Heorot, if thy mind were,
Thy temper, so fierce, as thou thyself reckonest,

all give the impression that Unferth is a warrior.

Professor Olrik says (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 26), "The author of *Beowulf* cannot have invented this stirrer-up of strife [Unferth]; for his jealousy is mentioned only in passing." But Unferth's jealousy is what explains his attitude toward Beowulf. It is necessary to make the situation intelligible, and plays its part in bringing on Beowulf's account of his swimming-match with Breca. As the author has no further use for this jealousy, he heals the breach

between the two men by saying that Unferth was drunk when he made his disparaging remarks and letting Unferth lend Beowulf his sword.

The kinsman of Eglaf remembered not now,
Mighty in strength, what he before spoke
Drunken with wine, when the weapon he lent
To a better sword-bearer.—Ll. 1466-69.

The name *Unferth* is sufficiently explained by the trouble its bearer creates in attacking Beowulf. But in ll. 1163-69 the following statement is made:

Then came Wealtheow forth,
Going under her golden crown, where were the good ones two
Uncle and nephew sitting: then were they still at peace,
Each one true to the other. There also the orator (*byle*) Unferth
Sat at the foot of the Scyldings' lord: each of them
trusted his wisdom
That great courage he had, tho' to his kinsmen he was not
Honest in play of the swords.

This needs further explanation. Olrik thinks that the author of *Beowulf* has, or presumes to have, knowledge of Unferth as an evil adviser, who later stirs up strife between Hrothulf and the descendants of Hrothgar. He continues: "This rôle of stirring up strife between the kings corresponds accurately to a series of the oldest Gothic and northern hero-myths, where there is an evil adviser, who incites to strife" (same reference as above).

It is uncommon in Old Norse to find an abstract noun used as a person's name. It is not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon, but the particular name *Unferth* is not found in Anglo-Saxon outside of *Beowulf*. A corresponding name *Unfrid*, as Olrik points out, is, however, found among several *Oberdeutsch* tribes. The author of *Beowulf* has therefore either created the character Unferth or adapted him from another Germanic source, and has skilfully woven him into the poem by using him as the means of introducing the story of the swimming-match and by intimating that he later stirs up strife among the Scyldings.

It may be that, as the king's *byle*, Unferth's duty was, by reciting verses appropriate for the occasion, to incite the king's men to valor as they were about to enter battle, just as the "spear-warrior" was

attempting to incite the Heathobards against the Danes at the wedding of Ingeld and Freawaru (ll. 2048 ff.). If this was the case, there would be nothing un-Scandinavian about his character; for, as Olrik also points out, there are other early examples of men among the Norsemen who performed the same duty.

Dr. Deutschbein suggests, evidently because Unferth is called a *pyle*, that the poet has conceived him in imitation of the Irish poets called *fili*. The *fili* were the highest class of poets in Ireland, and for a long time, in addition to their usual function, exercised judicial powers. The function of these poets was to "eulogize or satirize," and in early times they committed to memory verses that were supposed to put them in possession of supernatural power. To attain to the rank of the *fili* a course of study extending through twelve years or more was required, and at its close the *fili* could recite two hundred and fifty prime stories and one hundred secondary ones. The ability of the *fili* to recite poems committed to memory, as well as make new ones, gave them very much the same character as that of the *scop* in *Beowulf*. The *fili* honored their patrons with eulogistic verses, for which they expected and received substantial reward; and if this was not forthcoming, sarcastic verses were the result. They were feared, and used their training to extort money, not only from the upper classes, but from others as well. They became arrogant, "a pest and a nuisance." Stirring up strife or inciting to warlike deeds was not one of their characteristic functions. The *fili* were scholars, and could not have been in the poet's mind as prototypes of Unferth.

Dr. Deutschbein quotes the following words of Zimmer: "Das ist das charakteristische für die alte irische Heldensagen, deren Ursprünge ja vor die Zeit der Berührung mit anderen Völkern fallen, dass die Taten des Helden nicht in Kämpfen um die politischen Geschicke der nation bestehen,—solche waren damals durch die insulare Laeg Irlands ausgeschlossen,—sondern in Ueberwindung von furchtbaren Abenteuern." This statement Dr. Deutschbein uses as a basis for assuming that the Grendel-story cannot be originally Germanic; for, as he states earlier in his article: "die epik der Germanen zu der Zeit der Volkerwanderung im wesentlichen aus der Wirklichkeit schöpfte, die tatsächlichen Ereignisse selbst wurden zum Gegenstand der

Dichtung gemacht, und so haben wir mit einer starken Produktion historischer Lieder, die an die Wirklichkeit anknüpfen, zu rechnen."

But Dr. Deutschbein himself says that we need have no hesitation in accepting the dragon-story as Scandinavian. The dragon plays such a conspicuous part in various Scandinavian sagas and other Germanic literature that he cannot be eliminated. But is not the flying, fire-spitting, devastating dragon, that has been guarding a treasure, as fantastic a being as Grendel or his mother? And is not Beowulf's combat with the dragon as fantastic, unhistorical an adventure as the adventure with Grendel and his mother? It is just as possible for the one, as for the other, of the adventures to be of Germanic origin.

Yet, comparing *The Feast of Bricriu* with *Beowulf*, we find that in the main they illustrate the statements above mentioned in regard to the fantastic, unhistorical nature of Irish hero-tales and the historical nature of Germanic poetry. In *The Feast of Bricriu* practically no attempt is made to connect the many strange adventures and exploits with historical events. But in *Beowulf* a very conscious effort is made to give the strange adventures an historical setting, so that Dr. Deutschbein is justified in continuing immediately after the quotation given above:

Auf diese weise kan es geschehen, dass wir das ags. Beowulfpos in vielen Punkten als eine historische Quelle ansehen dürfen; die ganze germanische Welt mit ihren Anschauungen, Idealen, mit ihren Sitten und Gebräuchen lebt in der ags. Dichtung vor uns wieder auf, und es ist reizvoll für den Forscher, den Fäden nachzuspüren, die von dem ältesten Zeugnis über das Germantum, von Germania des Tacitu., zu unserem Beowulfpos hinüberführen.

Was speciell die historischen Einzelereignisse im Beowulf angeht, so sind die Angaben des Epos besonders für den Erforscher der skandinavischen Geschichte äuszerst wertvoll, so dass der Beowulf direkt als Quelle für die älteste skandinavische Geschichte in Betracht kommt, und die Angaben des ags. Gedichtetes, soweit sie die skandinavische Geschichte im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert betrifft, sind um so wichtiger, als ja im übrigen gerade die älteste Geschichte des Germanischen Nordens in ein fast undurchdringliches Dunkel gehüllt ist.

Both the Grendel-story and the dragon-story are made to have a strong political bearing. Hrothgar has lost many of his best thanes. His whole court stands in awe of the monster. His warriors are

cowed. Their courage is being sapped. Disastrous results to his reign and kingdom may be the result. The question before him is not one of adventure and heroic exploit. It is a question of ridding his capital of a very real, dangerous foe. In the dragon-story it is still more apparent that the monster must be overcome or the land will be devastated. The dragon is slain; but Beowulf loses his life, and we honor him for the sacrifice that he makes for his people.

The Grendel-story and the dragon-story are, indeed, unhistorical. In a way they are just as fantastic as the stories in *The Feast of Bricriu*. Still, there is no magic art connected with them; such an unreal characteristic as the ability to resume one's head whole and sound after it has been cut off is wanting; nor are the adventures undertaken merely to determine the supremacy among heroes. In spite of their wholly fictional nature, there is an atmosphere of grim reality about both the Grendel- and dragon-stories, even to the extent that the hero (Beowulf) succumbs in his last adventure. The two stories also are on a par. It will not do to say that the Grendel-story is too fantastic to be of Germanic origin, but that the equally fantastic dragon-story must be of Germanic origin.

But Dr. Deutschbein after saying, "Nach alledem brauchen wir kein Bedenken zu haben, den Drachenkampf aus skandinavischer Ueberlieferung abzuleiten," continues, "wie ja diesen Ueberlieferungskreis auch die historischen Elemente des Beowulf angehören." The latter part of this statement is too strong and is, in fact, misleading. Investigation has failed to give Beowulf, the hero, a historical existence, though there can be no doubt that the story of his life is interwoven with historical events among the Geats, Swedes, and Danes. Hygelac's expedition to the mouth of the Rhine is corroborated in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours and in the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, but otherwise all is blank with regard to the Geatish personages mentioned in the poem. Dr. Sarrazin says, "Was über die Schweden berichtet wird, scheint mehr auf historischen Tatsachen zu beruhen" (*Beowulf-Studien*, p. 45). This is a more guarded statement than that of Dr. Deutschbein, quoted above; and is more nearly correct.

There can be no doubt that what is told about the Swedish kings in *Beowulf* rests on a substantial historical basis. Neither can there

be any doubt that the genealogy given in *Beowulf* of the Danish kings, Healfdene and his successors, rests on an equally substantial basis; and when those features of the narrative in regard to the Danes that are plainly mythical are left out of account, the remainder of what is told about the Danes is just as well authenticated in other sources as what is told about the Swedes. It is therefore unwarranted to conclude that, on account of the historical setting given the dragon-story in *Beowulf*, it must be of Germanic origin, but the lack of a similar setting for the Grendel-story indicates that it is not of Germanic origin. The fact is that both the dragon- and Grendel-stories are so associated with personages whom we have good reason to believe historical that in this respect no distinction between them can be made.

It is mentioned by Dr. Deutschbein and has been noted by others that there is a gradual increase in the danger involved in the three exploits attributed to Beowulf and in the difficulty of performing them. In his fight with Grendel, Beowulf is never in real danger; he is fully able to cope with the monster. In his fight with Grendel's mother, he is for a time in danger of being overcome. In his fight with the dragon, he loses his life. This feature of *Beowulf* Dr. Deutschbein cites as another indication that the author of *Beowulf* was influenced by *The Feast of Bricriu*.

Climax is a common figure of speech, one that is naturally employed, especially in relating adventures; and where two compositions have nothing else in common than that their contents are arranged with a view to producing a climax no value can be attached to it as an indication that the one has been influenced by the other. Any poet with artistic sense would naturally, if opportunity was afforded, employ it; and the author of *Beowulf* was a literary artist.

In regard to the use of climax *The Feast of Bricriu* is far inferior to *Beowulf*. *The Feast of Bricriu* does not marshal the adventures of Cuchulainn with a view to producing a striking climax. Feats of mere strength and skill are mingled quite promiscuously with adventures of a hazardous nature; for instance, the house-lifting feat coming first, and the wheel-feat and the needle-feat coming after the adventure with the meadow-giant and the invulnerable cats. If these feats were to be arranged with a view to producing a climax, it is

questionable whether the house-lifting feat should precede the wheel-feat and the needle-feat. Again, the adventure with the invulnerable cats, the one instance where Cuchulainn is helpless (though not over-powered or injured), precedes adventures where Cuchulainn's strength and skill are more apparent and where he is more successful. In regard to the adventures with the meadow-giant, the Amazons, and Ercol, it is difficult to say which is the most hazardous and requires the most skill and strength. The adventure with the giant who agrees to allow his head to be cut off provided he be given the privilege of cutting off his opponent's head the next day and the adventure with Seath are properly placed last; but, on the whole, an arrangement of Cuchulainn's adventures with a view to producing an effective climax is apparently not sought and is certainly not attained. Hence, so far as this feature of *Beowulf* and *The Feast of Bricriu* is concerned, the two stories are not related; the author of *Beowulf* has received no suggestion from the Irish saga.

Dr. Deutschbein says:

Besonders eigenartig berührt uns der weiche sentimentale Ton, der nicht von unserem Epos, sondern der gesamten angelsächsischen Literatur eigen ist, ein elegischer Zug, eine Neigung, die Schatten-seite des menschlichen Daseins in der Darstellung zu bevorzugen, ist unverkennbar: wie oft und gern erhebt der Dichter die Klage, dass alle menschliche Pracht und Herrlichkeit nur zum Untergang und zur Vernichtung bestimmt ist.

The elegiac trait in Anglo-Saxon poetry has also been mentioned by Sophus Bugge in *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, XII, 77, where he suggests the possibility of its being largely due to Celtic influence. But this trait in Anglo-Saxon poetry cannot be due wholly to Celtic influence. It is not an un-Germanic characteristic. The idea that the preordained course of events is immutable, that *wyrd* (fate) rules over all, as is several times expressed in *Beowulf*, for instance, (l. 455) "Gæd ā Wyrd swā hiō scel" (Fate always goes as it must), is found outside the domain of Anglo-Saxon. We are familiar with it from Old Norse literature, as, for instance, in the proverb, "Veltr þangat, sem vera vill, um flesta hluti" (Most things happen as they will). It is probable that, as this sentiment seems to be imbedded in human nature and tends to come to the surface during periods of musing, it is in any literature largely a native product.

For its appearance in Germanic literature Dr. Deutschbein has stated another and more immediate cause than Celtic influence, when he says:

Kein Wunder daher dass jene Zeit, die so reich an tiefgreifenden Geschehnissen war, nicht spurlos an der germanischen Volksseele vorüberging; alles was die Germanen erlebt und erschaut hatten, drängte nach einer äussern Form, und so führt uns die älteste germanische Literatur auf diese grosse Zeit zurück. Dabei ist der *tragische* [italics are Dr. Deutschbein's] Grundton nicht zu verkennen—wie wir soeben gesehen haben, bot das Leben des Einzelnen wie das der Gesamtheit so starke tragische Elemente, dass diese wohl den mächtigsten und wirksamsten Impuls zu poetischer Tätigkeit geben."

At any rate there is no elegiac influence exerted on *Beowulf* by *The Feast of Bricriu*, for *The Feast of Bricriu* contains no elegiac sentiments whatever.

In view of the various considerations mentioned above, it is almost incredible that Dr. Deutschbein should say:

Zwischen diesen Stück [*Das Fest der Bricriu*] und unserem Beowulfepos sind auffallende und schlagende Ähnlichkeit,—sie beschränken sich nicht nur auf die Partien unseres Epos, wo es sich um die Grendelkämpfe handelt, sondern auch in Zahlreichen anderen Punkten treffen das angelsächsische Epos und die irische Erzählung zusammen, ja man steht unter dem Eindruck, als ob die angelsächsische Dichtung das irische Stück zum Vorbild gehabt hat.

Olrík thinks that the Scyld-episode (*Danmarks Helledigtning*, I, 223 ff.), which serves as an introduction to *Beowulf*, shows Celtic influence (not, however, directly from Ireland through the author of *Beowulf*, but an older, more general Celtic influence); and investigation may disclose that Celtic literature has exerted considerable influence on Anglo-Saxon literature; but there is nothing to indicate that *The Feast of Bricriu* has exerted any influence on *Beowulf* or was known to its author.

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"THE GRAVE"

I

The "singularly impressive and almost appalling"¹ little poem commonly known by the title, "The Grave," is found in a well-preserved Oxford manuscript of hymns and sermons.² It covers a half-page of the manuscript, and is immediately preceded and followed by sermons—the first ending a little above the middle of the page, the second beginning at the top of the page following. The handwriting, which is of the twelfth century, is large and clear. The poem is written like prose without verse division, and on account of lack of space the last three lines are written on the margin in letters which are a trifle smaller than those in the rest of the poem. The appearance of the page suggests that the scribe had intended to fill exactly the half-sheet left blank but had miscalculated the space. On the remaining portion of the lower margin three verses have been added in a thirteenth-century hand. In these lines the writing is careless and the letters are not always distinct.

The poem was first edited by Conybeare in the London *Archæologia* as an "inedited fragment of Anglo-Saxon poetry,"³ and was afterward reprinted in his *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* under the title, "Norman-Saxon Fragment on Death."⁴ In each volume the Middle English text was accompanied by Latin and English translations, the English translation being preceded by the words, "Death speaks." He did not print the thirteenth-century lines nor did he make any reference to them.

Thorpe, the next editor of the poem,⁵ printed the thirteenth-century verses as a part of the original text, though he stated in a footnote that they were "in a different and almost illegible hand."⁶

¹ Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, London, 1846, p. xi.

² MS Bodleian 343, f. 170.

³ XVII (1814), 173-75.

⁴ London, 1826, pp. 270-73.

⁵ *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 153-54.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

He gave it the title by which it is best known, "The Grave," and, like Conybeare, classed it as a fragment.

"The Grave" was first brought into connection with the body and soul literature by Max Rieger.¹ He compared it with the first speech in the "Visio Fulberti" on account of its use of the sentences: "Your house is not highly timbered, . . . its roof lies on your breast." "Loathsome is the earth-house where you shall live, and worms shall divide you." "You have no friend who will come to you, that he may see how that house pleases you."² And without coming to any positive conclusion he suggested that "The Grave" is a fragment of an early English adaptation of the "Visio." Later Rieger reprinted Thorpe's edition of "The Grave" as a "Bruchstück einer Rede der Seele an den Leichnam."³

The next contribution to the criticism of the poem was made by Kleinert,⁴ who pointed out the identity of certain lines in "The Grave" and the Worcester "Fragments of the Speeches of a Soul to Its Body." He argued that "The Grave" was the older text, and was therefore the source of the "Fragments."

Arnold Schröer, whose edition of the poem⁵ is the most satisfactory yet published, said nothing about its relation to the "Fragments." Accepting Thorpe's title, he edited the poem as "das unter dem titel 'The Grave' oder 'Fragment on Death' bekannte bruchstück eines alliterierenden gedichtes von der gattung der gespräche zwischen seele und leichnam." The three verses added in the thirteenth century he numbered as a continuation of the poem proper but he called attention to the distinction by means of a slight break in the text.

The most recent addition to the literature of the subject is Dr. Buchholz' book, *Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam in zwei Handschriften zu Worcester und Oxford*.⁶ In it Schröer's text is reprinted, the three thirteenth-century lines being accepted

¹ "Zwei Gespräche zwischen Seele und Leib," Pfeiffer's *Germania*, III (1858), 396 ff. His discussion of "The Grave" is on p. 399.

² "The Grave," II, 7, 10, 15-16, 18-19; cf. the "Visio," ed. du Méril, *Poésies Populaires Latines antérieures au Douzième Siècle*, Paris, 1843, p. 221.

³ *Alt- und Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, Glossen, 1861, pp. 124-25.

⁴ *Ueber den Streit zwischen Leib und Seele*, Halle dissertation, 1880, pp. 7 ff.

⁵ *Anglia*, V, 289-90.

⁶ *Erlanger Beiträge*, II, Heft VI, 1890.

as an integral part of the poem.¹ Regarding the relation of "The Grave" to the Worcester "Fragments" Buchholz reached no definite conclusion; he admitted two possibilities. The first is that "The Grave" is "a further fragment of the poem preserved in the Worcester 'Fragments.'" The second is that "The Grave" is a fragment of a poem different from the Worcester "Fragments."

As the result of this summary of the criticism of the poem, it is to be observed, (1) that every student of the poem has accepted it as a fragment of a longer poem, and (2) that since the point was first made no one has doubted that "The Grave" belongs to a speech of a soul to its body. Yet neither of these hypotheses, I venture to suggest, has been established.

I shall discuss first Dr. Buchholz' hypothesis that "The Grave" is a fragment of the poem preserved in the Worcester manuscript. Then I shall attempt to show that it does not necessarily belong to the body and soul literature, and that it is not a fragment.

II

Before bringing forward any evidence against Dr. Buchholz' theory of the relation of "The Grave" and the "Fragments," it may be pointed out that positive evidence in its favor is entirely wanting.²

¹ Such I take to be Dr. Buchholz' position. For, though he is careful to explain that these lines were added in a thirteenth-century hand (pp. iii, lxxv, 10), he nowhere differentiates against them either in the text or in the metrical and grammatical investigations of the poem. Curiously enough neither Schröer nor Buchholz considered the relation of the thirteenth-century lines to the remainder of the poem of sufficient importance to deserve comment or explanation.

² This theory has not, I think, met with a single favorable criticism. Cf. Kaluza: "Etwas Sichereres lässt sich über letzteres nicht feststellen; aber dass O nur ein weiteres Bruchstück des in den W-Fragmenten enthaltenen Gedichtes sein sollte, ist m. E. doch recht unwahrscheinlich. Die ganze Anlage ist in beiden Gedichten zu sehr verschieden, und da ich O dem Versbau nach für älter halte, so ist die Möglichkeit, dass O von dem Verfasser von W benutzt wurde, trotz Varnhagen keineswegs ausgeschlossen" (*Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XII [1891], 15); and Bruce: "The relation between these two poems, the 'Fr.' and 'The Grave,' is so close as to have even led to the improbable suggestion that 'The Grave,' itself a fragment, was a part of the 'Fr.'" (*Modern Language Notes*, V [1890], 394); and Zupitza: "Dass einer Ausgabe der Bruchstücke zu Worcester das Oxfordener beigegeben wird, ist durch den offenkundigen, wenn auch noch nicht erklärten, Zusammenhang der beiden Denkmäler gerechtfertigt" (*Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXV [1890], 78). Wükler agrees with Buchholz that nothing definite can be decided as to the relationship of "The Grave" and the "Fragments," without commenting on his suggestion that "The Grave" is one of the Worcester "Fragments." "Zunächst widerspricht B., und unseres erachtens mit vollem Recht, der Ansicht, man könne irgend etwas Sichereres oder auch nur Wahrscheinliches über das Verhältniss von dem Gedichte in W zu dem in O feststellen" (*Beiblatt zur Anglia*, I [1890], 188). Up to this time, however, Dr. Buchholz' theses have not been discussed in detail.

Dr. Buchholz' own arguments are negative. He prints together the passages from the two poems which are almost identical, and makes the statement that there must be a very close relation between them. "Es ist," he continues, "zunächst die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen" that "The Grave" is a further fragment of the Worcester poem. The objection that the poet would then have repeated himself in single expressions and in entire verses, he meets with the statement that such repetitions are found within the "Fragments." In conclusion he states that metrical considerations would present no obstacles in the way of such a solution of the problem.¹ I will discuss the last point first.

In meter the two poems are very much alike. Both contain the Old English alliterative verse with a preference for the line having only two alliterating syllables. In each there are lines without alliteration. In the "Fragments," however, there are a number of instances of rhyme,² whereas in "The Grave" there is no example of pure end rhyme.³ Any discussion of meter, then, must turn on this question of rhyme. Buchholz does not have anything to say about the matter, but Varnhagen has discussed it thoroughly in his review of Kleinert's dissertation.⁴ He calls attention to the impure rhymes in ll. 9 and 11 of "The Grave,"⁵ and suggests that the rhyme in them was intentional. In late Old English and in early Middle English, he says, alliteration and rhyme appear side by side but as a rule both are not found in one and the same verse, and, since the two lines in question are the only ones which do not show alliteration, the possibility that the rhyme was intentional is increased. Here Professor

¹ Dr. Buchholz' concluding statement would seem to indicate that he was not well informed about the manuscripts of the two poems: "Freilich Fragmente einer und derselben Hs. können W und O wegen des teilweise verschiedenen sprachlichen Characters nicht sein" (p. v).

² According to Buchholz' count (pp. lxx, lxxii) there are 19 verses that show rhyme, if we count the lines that are repeated each time they appear. Kaluza (*Literaturblatt*, XII, 18) thinks that the lines ending in *lif* and *sib* should be counted as rhyming, thus adding ten verses to our list (A 30, 42, 44; C 15, 37; D 9, 16, 42; F 19; G 6).

³ Cf. Buchholz, p. lxv.

⁴ *Anglia*, III, 573. Buchholz gives a reference to this review as showing that Kleinert's argument with regard to the greater age of "The Grave" is "nicht stichhaltig" (p. v).

⁵ "De helewajes beoð lage, sidwajes unheze" (l. 9). "Swa þu scealt on molde wunen ful calde" (l. 11). There is a third example of impure rhyme in l. 23, but I am not considering the thirteenth-century lines in my discussion of the poem.

Varnhagen has made a mistake. There is no alliteration in l. 15.¹ We may raise the question also whether Professor Varnhagen has not since changed his opinion on this subject, for his pupil, Dr. Buchholz, fails to recognize an impure rhyme in l. 9, and considers it doubtful that the rhyme in l. 11 was intentional.²

But, Professor Varnhagen continues, even if the rhyme in "The Grave" was not intentional, the presence of rhyme cannot be taken as an exact indication of age, even though it is found only sporadically in the oldest texts and becomes increasingly more common in the later ones. "Aber ist es denn bewiesen, dass das wachsende ein-dringen desselben ein so stetiges, nie unterbrochenes gewesen ist, dass man ohne weiteres zu dem schlusse berechtigt ist, dass, wenn ein text denselben öfter zeigt, als ein anderer, der erstere der ältere ist? Ist es nicht vielmehr wahrscheinlich, dass auch hier die action zeitweise durch eine reaction unterbrochen ist?" Then as an example of this reaction he cites two poems from the *Old English Chronicle*. The poem on the death of Alfred, son of Aethelred, is probably some thirty years older than that on the death of Edward, yet rhyme is found in the first poem and not in the second.

In the same review Professor Varnhagen treats Kleinert's argument from the language of the poems with equal scorn, though more briefly. Kleinert had said: "Vergleicht man jedoch in den angeführten Stellen Sprache und Wortbildung, so wird man bei den schwereren, volleren Endungen der Verba und überhaupt dem breiten, vollen Vokalismus im Riegerschen Texte einräumen müssen, dass dieser der ältere sein muss."³ Varnhagen's comment is as follows: "für Kl. sind entstehungszeit einer hs. und entstehungszeit des betr. denkmals identisch. Auf den sonstigen inhalt dieses passus und mehrere ausdrücke in demselben gehe ich nicht weiter ein."⁴

I have taken up the question of language here in connection with that of meter, because, it seems to me, the same criticism is to be made of both. Professor Varnhagen's position is, in each case, unassailable. The manuscripts are responsible for the differences in language, and the presence of rhyme is not necessarily an

¹ See Buchholz, p. lxxvi.

² P. lxxvi and note 1.

³ P. S. See Buchholz' analyses of the language of the two poems, pp. vi-lxii.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 573.

indication of age. But when we have granted these points, have we established anything with regard to the relative dates of the two poems? Have we even disproved Kleinert's argument?

The language of a poem is determined by the date of the manuscript in which it appears, but, other data failing, differences in the dates of manuscripts are counted indicative of differences in the dates of composition. And in the present case other data are lacking and the language of "The Grave" is the older. The case of the meter is very similar. In "The Grave" we may have the product of one of the periods of reaction against rhyme. Professor Varnhagen, however, brings forward no evidence to prove that such was the case, and he himself says that as a rule the poem with rhyme is not so old as the one without it. So that while we agree with Varnhagen that the present instances may be exceptions to the rules, we must, nevertheless, admit that we have no reasons for counting them exceptions, and hence we suppose that they conform to the general rules. The evidence of language and meter, then, is not in itself conclusive, but whatever weight it does have is against the theory that "The Grave" is one of the Worcester "Fragments."

Dr. Buchholz' first argument demands more serious consideration. There are repetitions within the "Fragments."¹ Most important is the repetition of the lines:

Al is reowliche þin sib after þin wrecche lif.²

and

Deo swetnesse is nu al agon, þet bittere þe biþ fornon;
þet bittere ilaestep aeffre, þet swete ne cumep þe naeffre.³

These lines form two refrains which are repeated at irregular intervals throughout the poem. They are not found in "The Grave." And since they are of the nature of refrains the repetition of them is not comparable to the identity of single phrases and verses in the "Fragments" and "The Grave."

¹ Dr. Buchholz did not note the lines in which the repetitions to which he refers occur. I cannot, therefore, be certain of his data.

² C 15. This line is found with variations in A 30, C 37, D 9, D 16, D 42, F 19, and G 6.

³ B 44-45; cf. also D 40-41 and B 8.

There are also repetitions of single phrases and sentences within the Worcester "Fragments." The list of such repetitions which I have found is as follows:¹

Liggeþ þe ban stille. A 21.

Liggeþ þe bon stille. E 11.

Ac aefre þu gaederedest gaersume on þine feonde. C 12.

Oþre birefdest rihtes istreones,

Gaederedest to gaersume. G 12-13.

Him scortep þe tunge. A 19.

Þin tunge is ascerted. G 9.

Eart þu nu lop ond unwurþ alle þine freonden. B 37.

Þu ert forbunden ond lop alle freonden.² F 17.

Do these repetitions within the "Fragments" parallel the identical lines in "The Grave" and the "Fragments" so closely as to make it possible to consider "The Grave" a part of the Worcester poem? The resemblances are not so close, nor are the lines themselves so important. Besides, this list does not explain the repetition of several lines in succession as in "The Grave," ll. 7-11, and Fragment C, 29-32.

Moreover, if we examine the list of repetitions within the "Fragments," we shall find that they are scattered here and there through the poem as is natural when an author is repeating himself. The same is true of the lines in the "Fragments" which are paralleled in "The Grave." But the converse is not true. The lines in question in "The Grave" are consecutive. Turning to the list of identical lines which Buchholz has printed in his preface, we find they are ll. 5, 6, 7-11, 13, 14, 16, 17.

We may grant that a poet might repeat important lines in a single poem. We may even grant, for the sake of argument, that a poet might repeat several such lines together. But can we, at the same time, grant that a poet would collect sentences from various parts of his poem and construct a new paragraph from them? or that he would tear one of his own paragraphs into its component sentences and

¹ Lines B 12, B 38, and C 24 should not be counted among these repetitions.

² This is the only one of these lines which is found in "The Grave." The line there is: "Dus du bist ileðd and ladaest þine fronden" (l. 17).

scatter them throughout the remainder of his poem?¹ In other words, though such a procedure as the theory of Buchholz involves is possible, it does not seem at all probable. But on the other hand, if the author of the "Fragments" used "The Grave" as one of his sources, and borrowed from it entire verses, he would very naturally scatter them in his poem, even though they were consecutive in the original. All the evidence drawn from this scrutiny of the two poems, therefore, favors the theory that "The Grave" was the source of the "Fragments" and opposes Dr. Buchholz' hypothesis that it is a part of the Worcester poem.

III

We have now to consider the relation of "The Grave" to the body and soul literature. Is our poem a part of a soul's speech to its body? On what evidence does this, the usual interpretation, rest?

It is not stated in the poem that the soul is speaking, and no *anima dicit* appears in the manuscript. Yet these means of identification are usually found in the body and soul poems. Neither does "The Grave" contain any of the typical body and soul motives. There is no upbraiding of the body, no hint of any past sins, the body is not even identified as that of a righteous man or a sinner. Nor was the poem said to belong to a speech of a soul to its body because it was recognized as especially appropriate to such a speech. "The Grave" was first identified with the body and soul poems because it contained motives found in the "Visio Fulberti," and scholars have continued to count it among those poems because of its obviously close relation to the Worcester "Fragments."²

¹ This point tells seriously against the theory of a common source as suggested by Varnhagen (*Anglia*, III, 572).

² It may be well to call attention to the fact that in the following discussion the question of importance is the meaning of the poem itself, and not the meaning of the "Fragments" as affected by "The Grave." Dr. Buchholz, for example, considers only the question whether "The Grave" may not be one of the "Fragments." And Professor Bruce asks if the addition of "The Grave" would "do prejudice to its [the "Fragments"] claims to artistic merit" (*op. cit.*, p. 394). No one, I think, has studied "The Grave's" relation to the "Fragments," or to the body and soul literature, from the point of view of the artistic demands of "The Grave" itself.

³ This point assumes especial significance when it is remembered that Thorpe and Conybeare, who were studying the poem and not the body and soul legend, failed to identify "The Grave" with the legend, though they were well acquainted with it. The same is true of the poet Longfellow.

Such an identification is, however, purely mechanical and argues little as to the general import of the poem.¹ Especially is this true in the case of so popular a legend as that of the body and soul, a legend, moreover, which borrowed motives from all kinds of religious literature, as for example the description of the Last Judgment,² or the enumeration of the Fifteen Signs before the Judgment.³

And if we examine the motives concerned in the present case, we shall not find any indications that they belong to a speech of a soul to its body. The motive of the loathsomeness of a dead man to his relatives and the worm motive may be dismissed at once since they obviously are not native to body and soul literature.⁴ Of the remaining lines of the Oxford text which are repeated in the Worcester poem, one verse does not appear in any of the speeches of the soul, but forms a part of the general introduction to the poem.⁵ It could not, therefore, have been recognized as especially appropriate to the speech of a soul to its body. In another the meaning is changed; the half-line which in the Oxford poem refers directly to the grave is, in the "Fragments," introduced so as to refer to the dead body, and is thus made suitable for the soul's speech.⁶ Where the lines in the Worcester

¹ The fallacy of such a mode of reasoning may be illustrated from within the body and soul literature itself. In the "Samedi" (ed. Varnhagen, *Erlanger Beiträge*, I, Anhang I, P text, ll. 785 ff. and 919 ff.) the body tells the soul that Beelzebub will not give up one soul for all the treasures of earth, and that the greater one is on earth the more he must suffer in hell. In the "Visio Fulberti" (op. cit., p. 227) the soul uses this argument in addressing the body. In the Old English "Address" (Grelin-Wülker, *Bibliothek*, II, 102, ll. 110 ff.) a description of the corruption of the body is introduced by the author after the soul's speech is ended, though short references had been included in the soul's speech. In the "Samedi" (ll. 350 ff.) the detailed description forms a part of the soul's speech. In "Death" (ed. Morris, *Old English Miscellany*, pp. 180-81 ff.) the description of Satan is not unlike that of the demons in the "Visio Fulberti" (p. 227). In the "Visio," however, the demons are introduced as real beings, in "Death" the description forms a part of the soul's speech.

² Cf. "Samedi," ll. 459 ff.

³ MS Harl. 2253, f. 57 ff., ed. by Böddeker, pp. 235 ff., and by Wright, *Walter Map*, pp. 346 ff.

⁴ Cf. "The Grave," ll. 16, 17; and "Fragments," C 28, F 17, and B 37.

⁵ "The Grave," l. 6; "Fragments," A 34.

⁶ "The Grave":

"Dureleas is paet hus and dearc hit is wiſinnen.
Ðær þu bist feſte blytt and daeð hefð þa caege" (ll. 13-14);

"Fragments":

"Noldest þu mid mupe bidden me none miltse.
Nu þu ert adumbed ond deaþ haueþ þe keiȝe" (F 15-16).

A similar change has taken place in the case of "The Grave," l. 5, and the "Fragments," B 39.

poem keep the same meaning as in "The Grave," they are introduced with details which make them easily recognizable as belonging to the angry soul's speech of reproach.¹ The same is true of the "Visio Fulberti" when it introduces motives found in "The Grave."² In "The Grave" itself, however, these touches are lacking.

In fact, whenever the motives of "The Grave" appear in the body and soul literature—for they are by no means confined to the "Fragments" and the "Visio Fulberti"—they are but importations. They are not intrinsic parts of a soul's speech to its body; they cannot be introduced for themselves. If, for example, the soul is upbraiding the body for its sins on earth, there is no occasion for the introduction of a description of the decayed body. When such a description is introduced, therefore, it is with modifying phrases,

¹ Cf. "The Grave," ll. 7-12:

"Ne biō no piñ hūs healice itinbred:
Hit biō unhech and lah, þonne þu list perinne.
De heleowates beoþ laxe, sidwazies unheōe;
De rof biō lbyld pire broste ful neh.
Swa du scealt on molde wunien ful calde,
Dimme and deorceæ."

with the corresponding passage in the "Fragments," C 25-36:

"Noldest þu nefre helpen þam orlease wrecchen;
Ac þu sete on pine beache, underfeild mid pine bostare;
Du wurpe cneow ofer cneow. Ne icneowe þu be sulfen,
Det þu scoldest mid wurnen wunien in corban.
Nu þu hauest heowe hūs,inne beþrungen;
Leowe beop be heleowes, unheige beop be sidwowers;
Pin rot illip on pine broste ful neih.
Colde is be ibedden, cloþes bledied.
Nulleþ pine hinen cloþes be senden,
For heom punchep al to hit, pet þu heom biledfest;
Det þu hefdest onhorded, hit wulleþ heldan.
Dus is iwtan þin weole; wendest bet hit þin were."

Cf. in this connection two later Middle English writings which contain almost the exact words of "The Grave," although they do not belong to the body and soul literature. In the first, a poem, "Die Boten des Todes" (ed. by Kaluza, *Englische Studien*, XIV [1890], 184 ff.), the lines are as follows:

"De halle rof is cast ful lowe;
Der beop none chaumbres wyde.
Me may reche be heleowwe
And pe wal on vch a syde" (ll. 153-56).

The second reference is found in the Lazarus play of the Towneley cycle. Here the expression is not so nearly kin to that of "The Grave" as in the poem just quoted:

"Under the erthe ye shall thus carefully them cowche;
The royfe of youre hall youre nakyd nose shall towche"

(E.E.T.S., E.S., LXXI, 391,135-36).

Many of the other death and grave motives that have been borrowed by the body and soul poems are also to be found in this play and in the poem cited above.

Cf. also "The Grave," ll. 11-16, with the "Fragments," B 39-43 and E 4-13.

² "Tua domus qualiter modo tibi placet,
Cujus nonne summitas super nasum jacet?
Nullum membrum superest quod jam lucro vacet,
jam clauduntur oculi, lingua tua tacet."

—(Ed. du Méril, p. 221).

Cf. also the following stanzas.

as, "although you dressed in fine clothes here, you shall be eaten by worms," or "although you, body, be entirely destroyed, you shall not evade your share of the punishment we must endure at the Judgment." In "The Grave," as I have said, the motives in question are introduced without such application. The grave is described merely because of the horror the description arouses. And in this respect our poem offers marked contrast to the body and soul literature.

Moreover, the whole tone of "The Grave" is different from that of the body and soul poems. The speeches of the soul are expressions of keen remorse and of personal regret. "The Grave," on the other hand, is calmly descriptive and universal, philosophic in tone. In the speeches of the soul the power lies in the recognition of the fact that the miserable plight described could have been avoided, it was the result of sin.¹ The power of "The Grave" lies in the fact that it is describing the fate of everyone, saint as well as sinner. The speeches of the soul are, in effect, sermons calling to repentance; "The Grave" is only a picture, without the application of the moral.

IV

It is difficult to know how to prove that our poem is not a fragment. The weight of proof usually rests with the other side, and we consider a poem complete unless there is reason for believing that some part is lacking. But no one has ever given any reason for counting "The Grave" fragmentary. The first editor, Conybeare, merely stated that the poem was a fragment, and that statement has been accepted without question.²

There can be but two valid reasons for counting a poem a fragment. If the manuscript is torn or mutilated, or if there is manuscript evidence of any other kind to show that a part of the poem is lacking, it must be considered a fragment. Or, if the sense of the poem is obviously incomplete, it should be counted fragmentary. Neither of these reasons holds true of "The Grave."

¹ Cf., for contrast, the speeches of the good soul in Batlouchkof's homily (*Romania*, XX, 578), and in the Old English "Address" (*op. cit.*, p. 105 ff.).

² A good deal of the confusion on this point is undoubtedly due to the use of the words "margin" by Thorpe (*op. cit.*, p. xi) and *rands* by Max Rieger (*Alt- und Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, p. 124) in describing the half-sheet of the manuscript on which the poem appears.

The three lines added in the thirteenth century form the only bit of manuscript evidence which might indicate that the poem is not complete. Of course, if these lines are to be counted a part of the original poem, it is undoubtedly a fragment. But if we consider the question on its merits, we find no reason for accepting the three lines. From the point of view of content they destroy the unity of the poem, as I shall attempt to show later. And from the point of view of the manuscript, it is much more probable that the thirteenth-century scribe was "completing" or "improving" the twelfth-century poem by the addition of lines of his own, than that he was adding verses of the original poem.¹

If we count the thirteenth-century lines spurious, there is no manuscript evidence against my theory that we have in "The Grave" a complete poem. The manuscript is in excellent condition, and there is no evidence of careless or interrupted writing in our poem.² It was, indeed, written on a half-sheet left between two sermons, but in such a case would not a scribe be more likely to write a complete short poem than a fragment of a long one? In fact, the lettering seems to indicate that he did choose the short poem. As I have said,³ the last lines of "The Grave" are written on the margin of the page, and in them the letters are slightly smaller than in the remainder of the poem. If the scribe were only filling a half-page with a fragment of a poem, he would have no motive for making the letters on the margin smaller, or for writing on the margin at all, since his poem at best would be but a fragment. If, however, he wished to write a short poem in a given space, he would naturally make his letters smaller when that space was filled, that he might be certain to get in the remaining lines of the poem, and at the same time leave the page as neat and with as wide a margin as possible.

The question rests, then, entirely on a consideration of the contents of "The Grave." If the three thirteenth-century lines are

¹ I do not mean that these three lines were, necessarily, original with the thirteenth-century scribe. Obviously they reflect commonplaces in mediaeval death and grave literature; but they were not a part of the original poem.

² A possible exception may be made in the case of l. 21. The first half of it, according to the modern editors, has been omitted. In the manuscript, however, there is no break indicating an omission.

³ See above, p. 1.

counted, the poem seems to be fragmentary. In those lines the scribe has reproduced admirably the spirit of the poem, but he has destroyed its unity. For in them he has introduced details about the appearance of the corpse, whereas it is only the general condition of the body with direct reference to the future "house" which is mentioned in the poem itself. They leave one with a sense of incompleteness, too. One expects other details about the eyes, nose, and mouth to follow the reference to the hair.

The poem as written by the twelfth-century writer, however, does not appeal to me as unfinished or fragmentary. It takes a single theme, the description of the grave as the future house of man, and in the twenty-two verses this theme is given a well-rounded development. The second person is used throughout for emphasis.¹ Opening with the statement that there is such a future house for each one, the author follows with a description of that house and of man's condition in it. "It is small, it is cheerless, you will be a prey to worms therein." The poem then concludes with a reference to the man's relation to his friends when in his new home. "Your friends will not care to come to you, to see how that house pleases you, for soon you will be loathsome to look upon."²

The last lines have a haunting quality; they are like the last notes of a song written in a minor key. But the poem is not to be called incomplete, or unfinished, on that account. Instead, the ending is a proof of the poet's art. For in it he has not only emphasized the chief point of the poem, man's miserable and hopeless condition in the grave, but he has done so in the most effective way. We are left, not with a vivid picture of the corruption of the grave, but with a haunting sense of its inevitability, its utter misery, and its entire hopelessness.

In conclusion, if we admit that "The Grave" is not a fragment, my earlier point about its relation to the body and soul literature is greatly strengthened. So long as the poem is considered fragmentary, we must grant that it may be a part of a soul's speech to

¹ Conybeare precedes his English translation with the words, "Death speaks." I do not feel that any definite speaker is intended. The second person is used to mean that every individual is addressed. Cf. the poem on "Signs of Death" in Morris' *Old English Miscellany*, p. 101.

² L. 21 should be followed by a comma, and not by a period as in Buchholz' edition.

its body. The references identifying it positively as such may always be in some of the lost fragments. If the poem is complete, however, it is clear that it does not belong to the class of body and soul poems, but to the even more popular class of death and grave literature.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The April number of *Modern Philology* will complete the eleventh volume. With Vol. XII a new mode of publication will be adopted. Instead of appearing four times a year in numbers of approximately one hundred and fifty pages, it will appear in ten numbers of approximately sixty-four pages each. The months of publication will be October to July inclusive; but the volume will begin with the May issue, this year and hereafter. The issues of May, October, and January will be devoted to articles in the field of English; those of June, November, and February to articles in the field of German; those of July, December, and March to articles in the field of the Romance languages and literatures; and the April issue to articles on comparative literature, critical theory, and general linguistics. No change will be made in editorial policy or in typographical style.

It is believed that subscribers will find it advantageous to have the articles in each field brought together in separate numbers instead of being scattered indiscriminately through the volume, as has hitherto been the case. And it is thought that persons who wish to secure extra copies of an article will welcome this change, as it reduces the size and price of the separate numbers.

Our main purpose, however, in making the change is to bring out more clearly the fact that *Modern Philology* is not a mere fortuitous miscellany of articles in the field of the modern languages and literatures, but a medium for the publication of the best results of research in each of the great fields to which it is devoted. We hope and believe that the new mode of publication will enable the student in each of these fields to recognize more clearly the importance of *Modern Philology* for his own studies.

An indirect but important result for which we also hope is the enlargement of *Modern Philology*. If the new mode of publication should result, as we believe it will, in the increase of our subscription list, we shall be able to increase the number of pages of *Modern Philology*.

This is a result greatly to be wished. The present channels for the publication of the fruits of research in our field are entirely inadequate. Notwithstanding the increase in the number and size of these channels of publication and the general raising of the standards of scholarship in all of them, editors are often reluctantly obliged, by the demands upon their space, to postpone for as long even as one or two years the publication of articles of great interest and value. This ought not to be the case. The remedy lies in increasing the subscription list of the periodicals. Our business department will begin a campaign for this purpose in a few weeks, and we appeal to our subscribers and other friends for aid in this effort, the ultimate purpose of which is the increase of the means of publication in the field of our work.

